

Monday May 6 1996

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The Guardian INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

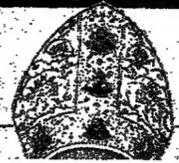
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46.545

Liverpool's vacant, Westminster's winding down

Battle for the Catholic soul

G2 with European weather



Talking to Britain's richest women

Can't buy me love

Women, G2 pages 10-11



Media

Footy on the telly - Sky v The Rest

G2 pages 8/9

Labour left win battle on benefit

Richard Thomas and Rebecca Smithers

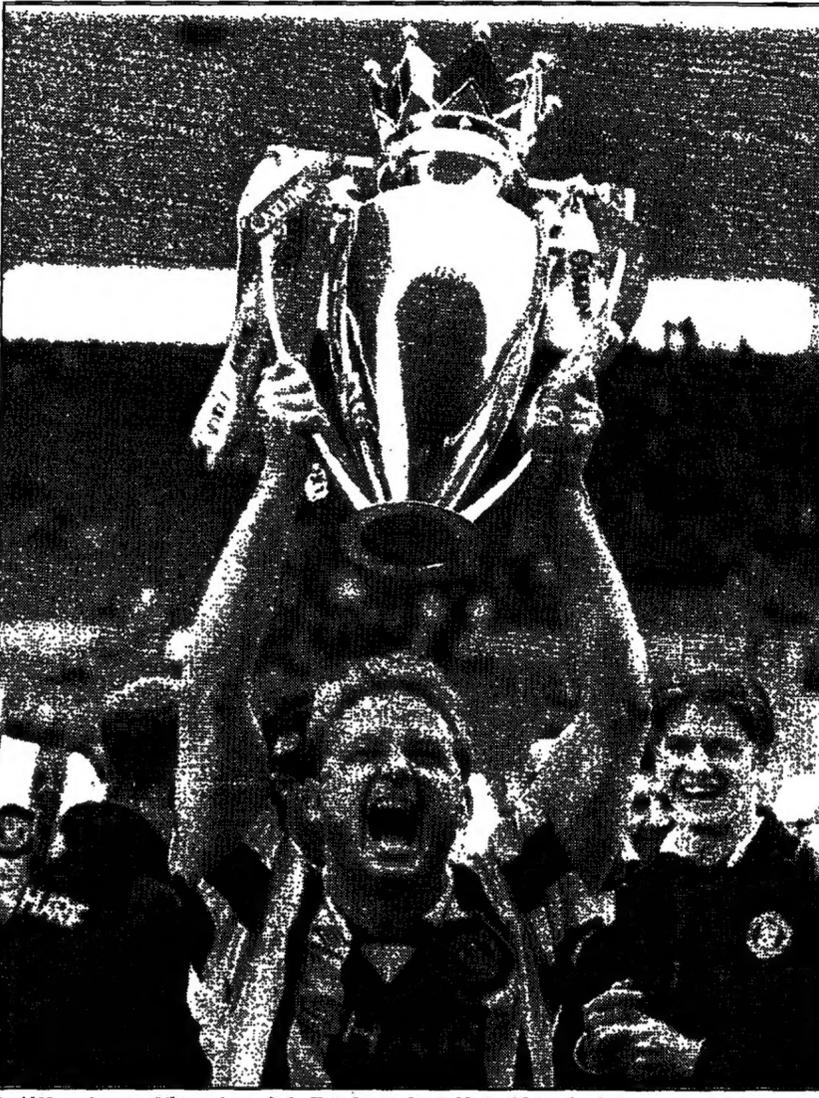
Labour plans to abolish the Government's controversial Job Seeker's Allowance...



in a paper on welfare-to-work which the social security spokesman hopes to publish in two or three weeks time.

11th-hour attempt to dilute or head off the commitment, Mr Smith is said by close sources to be "absolutely determined".

Game of two halves: Soccer season ends in joy and gloom for Manchester



United won City nil

John Duncan Sports Correspondent

MANCHESTER was a city divided last night as United were crowned Premier League champions while City were relegated to the First Division.

David May, who opened the scoring early for United yesterday, holds the title trophy aloft. PHOTOGRAPH LAURENCE GRIFFITHS

Handyman brings home the Bacon for art sleuths

Charlie English

IT WAS like a scene from an Agatha Christie novel. Twelve experts were based to a warehouse in a secret London location to solve one of the great mysteries of the art world.

The attribution of the self-portrait created a storm in the art world after its existence was revealed in February. Brian Sewell, in the London Evening Standard, and Richard Cork, in the Times, asserted that it was a genuine Bacon, while art historian Richard Stone argued that it could not be.

scavengers the possibility of re-using them from the dustbin and selling them". The paintings fell into H's possession after the two friends went drinking together one evening in 1982.

Four children killed in suspected arson attack

Alex Bellor

FOUR children under the age of 13 died after a suspected arson attack on a house in Southampton early yesterday.



Mr and Mrs Good had to be held back by neighbours as they tried to return to the house, shouting "We must go back - our babies are in there."



engines arrived at the house three minutes later. Neighbour John Clifford said: "I heard terrible, terrible screams which woke me from my sleep. They were wailing 'Mummy, Daddy help us please'."

Nicola and Alison Good who died with two brothers

Prague Writers' Festival 1996

This year the Prague Writers' Festival, directed by Michael March, will once again showcase a selection of fine authors from around the world.

Inside More than 500 land-use protesters started building a village and farming land on a derelict site in London yesterday

Britain More than 500 land-use protesters started building a village and farming land on a derelict site in London yesterday

World News Bosnia and Serbia are seeking payment for allowing more than 320,000 Balkan refugees in Germany to return home

Economics Ken Livingstone on why Labour must tell voters that the City, not wage-earners, will provide funds to get Britain working

Sport Damon Hill produced a disciplined drive to win his fourth race out of five this season in the San Marino Grand Prix at Imola

Comment and Letters 8 Obituaries 10 G2 Crossword 15; Weather 16 Radio 16; TV 16

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It's my socialist party and I'll try if I want to

Labour's former Awkward Squad is out of Tony Blair's hair for ever: under the leadership of Arthur Scargill. Membership is rising fast, but the old habits die hard

Monday sketch



Matthew Engel

THIS was the fulfilment of a dream. At long last, a new political party of the left? Strong men had awaited this day for generations — not the people who were ever going to join, you understand, but the leaders of the Labour Party desperately keen to get rid of the ones who would.

Now the Awkward Squad sat in a North London conference hall, at the feet of Arthur Scargill, proclaiming allegiance to the Socialist Labour Party, and out of Labour's hair forever. Arthur, Tony could have hugged you — just like Margaret, all those years ago. By its own lights, Socialist Labour had a successful launch conference on Saturday. The hall was almost full. Debate was well ordered. After an uneasy start, Mr

Scargill, the party's president and thus far its only well-known member, hit top oratorical form.

Total membership is 1,152 and climbing fast, including a councillor in Greenwich. And, freed from the old pressures from leaders who considered them loony, all of them were able to say whatever they wanted.

The effect was exquisitely ironic. The president had to sit on the platform, looking as serene as possible, while his own leftwingers — the Very Awkward Squad — tried to amend the party's initial policy documents.

Mr Scargill proposed the economic policy, which merely wanted to end capitalism. Before the party was an hour old, one speaker cried: "Send this motion back into the Fabian bog it crawled out of!"

A comrade from Cheshire demanded that the party explain to the working class its revolutionary destiny. One from Leicester wanted to "smash the bureaucratic and military apparatus of the state through revolutionary struggle".

Suddenly, it was Mr Scargill who had to play the role previously assigned to Labour leaders opposing the likes of him. He was "saddened" by the criticisms. It was "absolutely



Arthur Scargill, left, presides at the launch conference of his Socialist Labour Party in Camden, London

irresponsible" to talk about armed struggle. The policies had to be "relevant" and "meaningful", he said. "It's no good going to Liverpool docks and telling them what a revolutionary said in 1917."

The platform won, as it did all day. The members will allow Mr Scargill to get rid of the capitalists his way. They

also stifled proposals to make housework mandatory for men (a possible vote-winner, this, but with interesting implications for law enforcement) and abolish all immigration controls.

This was defeated, very narrowly, partly after pro-platform speakers pointed out that it might mean letting in

fascists and white South Africans. It is not entirely clear that white South Africans would be flocking to a Scargillite Britain, but those who fear that such a government would be Stalinist in practice can, I think, be reassured. It would not be that efficient.

The conference — due to start at 10am or 11am, depend-

ing on which message you got — began at 11.25, the afternoon session, scheduled for 1.45pm, started at 2.05pm. There were 26 documents to discuss; they managed six. Trivial subjects like the British constitution will have to be considered by the membership next May, presumably after the general election.

In the meantime, the party's new national executive committee will take charge of these questions. It was touching throughout to see how everyone kept hold of the Labour Party's forms and formulae while hurling down anathemas on it. The day was replete with attempted references back; and the party has a new Clause IV (4) lovingly rebuilt to resemble the original. This is a party of ex-lovers spurned but still obsessed.

The loudest cheer of the day was for the fraternal delegates from Cuba. He must have felt at home in the Camden Centre, an art deco hall in need of someone willing to give it a lick of paint, put the clock right and unblock the lavatories. He may also have recognised much of Socialist Labour's programme.

This does involve a certain amount of public expenditure: huge pay rises for the deserving; voluntary retirement on full pay at 55; pensions to be doubled within 12 months; a million new homes every year; all closed hospitals to be opened etc etc.

These are policies that used to be known as millenarian. However, now the millenium is approaching faster than the policies, the word is no longer very helpful.

But Mr Scargill was certain

they could be funded, from (1) company profits (2) British withdrawal from Europe and (3) the cancellation of Trident. There will be chairs who wonder that one whiff of this programme will cause profits to vanish like the morning dew.

That will not worry Mr Scargill. As he finished, having promised to nationalise the Midland and NatWest Banks, Unilever, ICI and various others whose names cannot be frittered to their shareholders here because they were drowned in applause, his serenity was complete.

It was as if he had returned to his own personal reworking of Kipling that characterised his handling of the great strike: "If you can meet with triumph and disaster/And never quite work out just which is which."

But he may be a little concerned about his left flank. So, in a comradely spirit, I offer some advice on how to isolate them and attract more mainstream support. Why not make the banner a little less scarlet and go for something more pastel-shaded? Why not a red rose emblem instead? That would be nice. A little less socialism and a few more grins all round, maybe? I am only trying to be helpful. It has worked for other parties, you know.



Police and forensic officers conduct a search outside the fire-damaged house at Sholing, Southampton, in which four children died early yesterday

Four children killed in suspected arson attack on home

continued from page 1

Another neighbour, Chris Horn, aged 32, rushed to the front door of the blazing house after hearing the children's screams.

He kicked the door and as the glass fell out flames ripped through, making him

diverge out of the way. Mr Horn said: "Mr Good was in the back garden dressed in just his underwear. He was desperate to get back into the house. It was just a horrendous fireball, smoke and flames everywhere. He kept saying 'I must go back in.'"

held him with both arms and just told him it would be suicide. No one could have gone back into that blaze without killing themselves."

The three survivors were taken to Southampton General Hospital. Kelly was then transferred to the burns unit

at Odstock Hospital in Salisbury. She was last night being comforted by Melvyn, a building worker, Bev and an 18-year-old sister who lives away from home.

Police appealed for anyone with information to contact them on 01703 581111.

Chaplin score pulls the heartstrings

Review

Jonathan Romney

Chaplin: The Kid

The Dome, Brighton Festival

IN OTHER fields of endeavour, they commemorate history by erecting statues, in film, they bring on Carl Davis. This year's Century of Cinema celebrations could have been devised expressly to give Davis a baton an airing, and he has two commissions for this year's Brighton Festival. Tonight he conducts his score for a competition by the Hove

Pioneers who ran a film studio in Hove at the turn of the century.

Saturday's performance was more familiar fare, a live accompaniment to Charlie Chaplin's 1921 six-reeler *The Kid*. Over the last decade and a half, since Abel Gance's *Napoleon* rode again, we have become used to live orchestral accompaniment as the realm of epic cinema. It also sits well with the extravagant comic imaginations of Buster Keaton and Harold Lloyd, but it does not entirely work with Chaplin's more intimate, lyrical slapstick. The film and the music somehow underline each other's conventional aspects. Davis had restored Chaplin's score,

which was melodically not quite in the league of his still quite a little hollow. Still, *The Kid* does feature something I have always wanted to see in action — a pair of those gloves with three lines on the back, that I thought only existed in Mickey mouse cartoons.

age inspectors flung the wair aboard their truck, and he wrings his fists piteously at the heavens, those saucer eyes pleading beneath his Buster Brown bob.

With the kid around there is less coy eyelid-flapping from Chaplin than in most of his films. *The Kid* is also less laden with comic business than his earlier shorts, and the most brilliant comic moments are underplayed.

If you incline to Keaton's more satiric mania, it all looks a little hollow. Still, *The Kid* does feature something I have always wanted to see in action — a pair of those gloves with three lines on the back, that I thought only existed in Mickey mouse cartoons.

Fears grow that nervous Yeltsin may delay ballot

David Hearn in Moscow and Martin Walker in Washington

ALARM bells for the fate of Russian democracy were ringing at the White House and in Western European capitals yesterday, amid growing fears that President Boris Yeltsin might postpone next month's presidential election rather than risk defeat.

Gennady Zyuganov, the Russian Communist leader and front-runner in the race, yesterday warned that the vote was at risk, after Mr Yeltsin's influential bodyguard said he favoured postponement.

"People will not put up with this," Mr Zyuganov told Pravda. "They (the government) have already taken away people's savings and wages — paying pensions out in kopecks — and taken away people's faith in tomorrow. (Now) the authorities are ready to take away the rights of citizens to correct the situation through the ballot box."

The West faces a sharp dilemma between the election will solve nothing, Mr Yeltsin and Mr Zyuganov should

return to Russian autocracy under Mr Yeltsin. Either outcome would spell the end of Russia's first democratic experiment since 1917.

Fearing the kind of setback that could undermine his own re-election hopes, President Clinton has rallied other Western leaders to go far beyond the usual rules of neutrality to support Mr Yeltsin.

Mr Clinton and other Western leaders at the G7 nuclear summit in Moscow last month made it clear to Mr Yeltsin that the poll must go ahead on June 16. But they made their support for the Russian president clear with a \$9.5 billion (\$2.3 billion) credit through the International Monetary Fund.

Two precedents for postponing the election have already been floated informally by Russian diplomats, senior United States officials have said privately. One would be the formal return of the former Soviet republic of Belarus to the Russian fold, which might widen the electoral base for Yeltsin, others for Zyuganov. Such a division of souls is dangerous.

The presidential bodyguard claimed there were entire regions of Russia where "the

civilised expression of people's will is impossible".

Mr Yeltsin has over the past month frequently vowed to hold the election, whose first round is only six weeks away, and to defeat Mr Zyuganov. His campaign, and that of the state television channels, has been largely based on trying to frighten voters about the dangers of a return of the Communists, whom he claims would take away privatised flats, kiosks, and large businesses.

Mr Yeltsin assured the Western leaders last month that he would win the election comfortably. Many Russian analysts in the West believe him, if only because the ballot boxes will be controlled by the provincial governors, whose autonomy would be at risk if the Communists won.

Mr Yeltsin still trails Mr Zyuganov by 27-21 points in the most reliable opinion polls.

There are influential factors working against the Kozhakov line. One is the question of how loyal the grand forces, particularly in Russia's poor and pro-Communist provinces, would be to a call from Moscow to postpone the election.

Nobel poet faces sex harassment US lawsuit

Martin Walker in Washington

BOSTON University is to back its star professor, the Nobel prize-winning poet Derek Walcott, and become his co-defendant in a sexual harassment trial instituted by a female former student.

The stage is set for a drama of sexual and racial politics, in which the focus will be the West Indian poet's claim that unscrupulous women find it easy to destroy the reputations of prominent men with spurious charges.

The student, in her 30s, claims that Prof Walcott, aged 66, told her she would fail his course unless she had sex with him. He was reprimanded when he taught at Harvard after another female student made a similar allegation.

Prof Walcott, claiming that the teaching of poetry and drama was touched by the inherent passion of the subjects, then acknowledged that his "deliberately personal and intense" style might have been misunderstood.

After a lengthy internal investigation of this latest incident, Boston University has concluded that the charges are without grounds. "We entirely believe Mr Walcott's version," officials told the Guardian yesterday.

A former television journalist, Nicole Niemi, filed the charges after quitting Prof Walcott's Masters degree drama course in February.

Ms Niemi has filed a private suit for emotional distress, compensation for her university fees, and punitive damages. She is seeking more than \$500,000 (£330,000). She alleges the incident took place last November.

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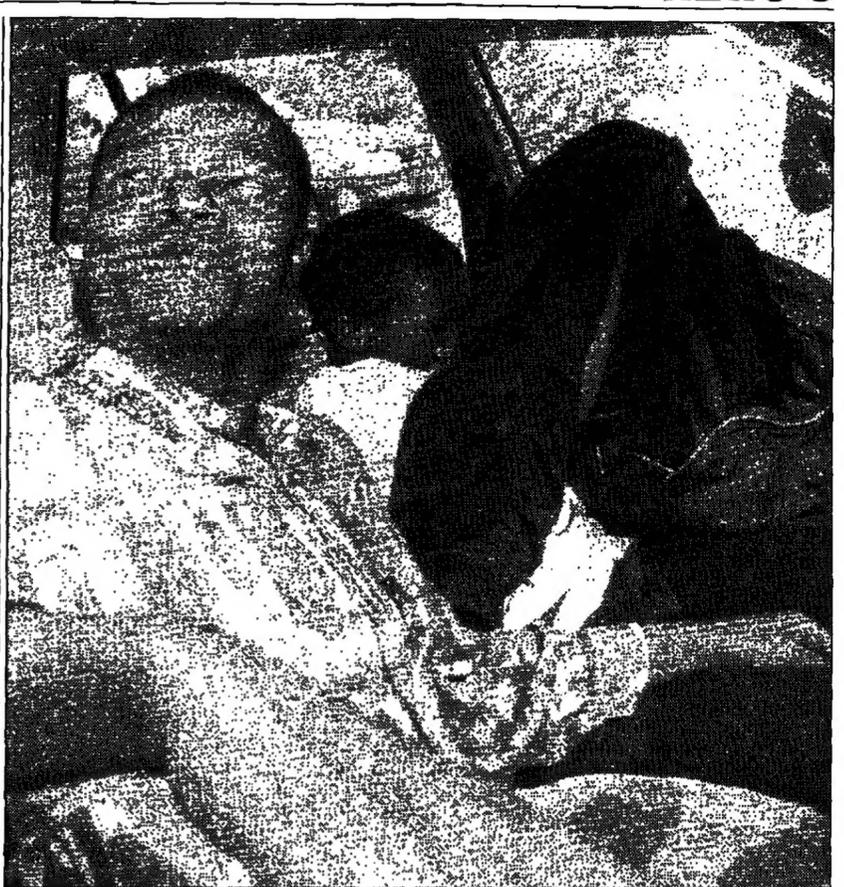
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'I hope and pray they look after him' — English widow Salome Stopford, above with one of her three daughters at Heathrow. In four years with Mrs Stopford, Sifiso lost the ability to speak his native language, did well at school and learned to love life in London



'Look what is on my face' — beaming father Charles Mahlangu, above, with his son on his return. But after a visit to his real parents last year Sifiso fears he may have to sleep in the same bed as his mother and sister, bathe in a bucket and use an outside toilet

Zulu boy forced to leave 'white mum'

Two-year battle in British courts ends with 10-year-old sent home to natural parents in South Africa

David Boreford in Johannesburg and Alex Bellis

A TRAUMATIC, trans-global tug-of-war between a Zulu father and an English widow came to an end yesterday when an ecstatic Charles Mahlangu welcomed his 10-year-old son back to South Africa from Britain.

"Look what is on my face," said the beaming Zulu driver.

ing instructor when he was asked whether he was happy at the outcome of the celebrated, two-year battle through the British courts for his son, Sifiso.

But the boy was still clearly traumatised by his departure from Britain, which was delayed on Friday night when he was taken off a British Airways flight, crying for his would-be adoptive mother: "I don't want to leave mummy."

Sifiso Mahlangu finally left Heathrow on Saturday night watched by a weeping Salome

Stopford, aged 50, who had unsuccessfully attempted to adopt him after bringing him to Britain in 1982, ostensibly to further his education. "I hope and pray they look after him," she cried.

It emerged yesterday that in a last-ditch attempt to stay in Britain, Sifiso had written a note to the Queen, saying: "Dear Her Majesty, I want to stay here with my white mum. Can you please help me because no one else will help me. Everyone seems to be against me and my Mum. I want to stay here with my family. I am happy here."

Sifiso arrived in South Africa early yesterday morning with his mother, Selma Mahlangu, aged 30, who used to work as Mrs Stopford's maid

there. The mother and son were immediately escorted through a side entrance past waiting journalists to a house in the industrial town of Brakpan, east of Johannesburg.

The "rights" to the Mahlangu family's story have been secured by a South African magazine, Fair Lady, which has helped them with their custody battle in Britain.

The editor of Fair Lady, Roz Wrottesley, said from her home in Cape Town yesterday that the magazine's financial support had been limited to a contribution to the costs of flying the Mahlangu parents to Britain for the initial court hearing last year. "They have had no cash from us whatsoever," Ms Wrottesley strongly defended the Mahlangu corner in the custody case, dismissing arguments that the boy would have had a better life in Britain as "racist and materialist."

"They have never, at any time, contemplated adoption. Their desire to have their son back has been absolutely unflagging."

She pointed out that Mrs Stopford had relied on the dole to bring up Sifiso in Britain. By contrast, his own parents were able to support him themselves. "They are not destitute by any means. They are working people," she said. "This is a country of opportunity now. It is not as if he has been brought back to an apartheid South Africa."

Even if South Africa offers more opportunities than it did before, Sifiso's home life will not be as comfortable as it has been for the last four years in London.

He visited his real parents last year and said: "They live in one room and I had to sleep in the same bed as my mother and sister, while my father slept on the floor. I had to bathe in a bucket and use an outside toilet."

This is a far cry from life in Maida Vale, north-west London, where he has lived in a four-bedroomed apartment with Mrs Stopford and her three daughters.

Although he was brought up speaking Zulu, the only language in which his biological mother is proficient, he

soon lost the ability to speak it. English became his main language and he did well at school, reportedly winning an assisted place at a public school. "He would have done well there. He is a bright boy for his age," said Mrs Stopford.

One friend told reporters: "He's like any other English kid. He doesn't speak Zulu or Afrikaans. He is a well-behaved boy who never gets into trouble."

The case is due to be reconsidered by the European courts next week, but Mrs Stopford said she was uncertain what would happen if they ruled against the British courts' decision now. Sifiso was back in South Africa.



Sifiso with his sister Zinable after arriving in South Africa

Major turns to Saatchi for electoral lift

Tory relaunch must contend with revival of sleaze factor

Rebecca Smithers Political Correspondent

A £500,000 advertising campaign devised by Maurice Saatchi will begin in the next two weeks to relaunch the Conservative Party and back up Mr Major's defiant pledge that he will win the general election.

The glitzy relaunch must contend with the final report into the "homes for votes" scandal at the Tory-controlled Westminster council, which will be published on Thursday, and reaction to tomorrow's new-style Register of Members' Interests, from

which up to 30 Tory MPs have withheld full details of their outside earnings.

The advertising campaign will promote the theme that there is "no [economic] gain without pain" on 1,000 poster sites and in newspaper advertisements.

Stephen Dorrell, the Health Secretary, will tomorrow publish plans to help the elderly protect savings and family homes should they go into long-term care.

ers can be forced to sell their homes to pay for nursing home fees.

The proposals are aimed at defusing growing anger among old people and their families in middle class Britain — the centre ground for the general election battle. Consultation will end this summer, and it is hoped to put the new plans in place next year.

But the initiative will be overshadowed by the new Register of MPs' Interests — the first to be published under rules agreed after the Nolan committee report on sleaze. About 30 Tory MPs — including former premier Ted Heath and ex-minister David Mellor — are understood to have disclosed contracts but not remuneration because it does not relate to parliament-

ary duties.

On Thursday, in a final report, the district auditor John Magill will confirm his findings that Westminster council was guilty of vote-rigging, expelling homeless families and shutting up empty homes to keep out potential Labour supporters.

Mr Major's attempts to unite his warring party behind him seemed doomed to failure even at cabinet level yesterday, as Brian Mawhinney, the party chairman, and Michael Heseltine, the Deputy Prime Minister, refused to be drawn on whether they agreed with Chancellor Kenneth Clarke's view that economic and monetary union posed no threat to the nation state.

Mr Heseltine issued a blunt warning to Eurosceptics that

party in-fighting could open the door of 10 Downing Street to Tony Blair, as Teresa Gorman said she was planning to introduce a backbench bill allowing for a referendum on whether Britain should stay in the European Union.

Mr Heseltine told BBC TV's On the Record: "What are Conservatives trying to achieve in giving the appearance of disunity within the Conservative Party?"

"I know what they're likely to achieve and that is to open the door to No. 10 Downing Street to Tony Blair."

Dr Mawhinney played down the Tories' divisions, insisting that the general election would be fought on the differences between the parties.

Former 'gangsta' on the lam

Christopher Reed in Los Angeles

THE transition of Kody "Monster" Scott from a "gangsta in the hood" to a Hollywood celebrity has been interrupted by his disappearance following a police drugs raid on his home.

Mr Scott, whose book about his life in the Eight-Tray Gangster Crips in Los Angeles sold 100,000 copies and brought him a six-figure fortune, has gone to ground — violating his prison parole — as the book is being made into a Hollywood film. But the author telephones the film's director, Antoine Fuqua, almost daily to talk about the project. At the weekend the Los

Angeles Times published an interview with Mr Scott.

In his book, he wrote about starting gang life aged 11, and various shootings of rival gang members. He earned his nickname after he beat a man so badly that police termed it the act of a monster.

He was shot six times and became an "OG" — "original gangsta" — revered by the young blacks whose criminality became an international curiosity after the 1991 Oscar-nominated movie, Boyz n' the Hood.

On his parole from prison last September, after serving four years for armed robbery, assault and possession of an AK-47, Mr Scott returned home a rich man as a result of the book. But in March, police

burst into his home, claiming that a small amount of cannabis had been found in his car. Mr Scott tested negative and nothing was found on the premises.

"I transformed my criminal mentality into a revolutionary one, wrote a book, co-operated with the government for the first time by paying taxes, and ... they make me jump through hoops when I actually did something successful and legal with my life," Mr Scott complained.

He claims police attacked him when he refused to be arrested. Soon after the raid he vanished, saying: "If they come and pounce on me I'll fight back ... I want to live like a next person, but I'll be damned if I'll live on my knees."

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A hut starts to take shape at the sustainable village



'We desperately need to use the vast areas of derelict land in our cities to house the homeless, to relieve urban bleakness and to take the pressure off the countryside'

— George Monbiot (left)

Protesters dig in at derelict site to create ecovillage on Thames



A protester helping to build a shelter at the Wandsworth site yesterday

PHOTOGRAPHS: ALEX McHAUGHTON

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Alex Bellis

LONDON'S Thames-side skyline was augmented by the unusual profiles of a geodesic dome and three Mongolian yurts yesterday as a group of ecologists built a village on a derelict site to protest about land use.

In one of the most talked-about direct-action campaigns of the decade, about 500 people entered the grounds of a former distillery in Wandsworth, south London, and started building homes and farming the land.

The organisers, The Land Is Ours, hope to show that by creating a sustainable village with low-cost housing, derelict sites can be put to good use. A spokesman, George Monbiot, said: "Our role is constructive, peaceful and positive, and our purpose here is to make development work for us, not against us."

"Development in Britain has done a lot for the big developers, but very little for those who need it most. We desperately need to use the vast areas of derelict land in our cities to house the homeless, to relieve urban bleakness, and to take the pressure off the countryside."

The 13 acres of prime real estate is owned by Guinness, which acquired the land when it took over Distillers. The site had contained a gin distillery but that was demolished in 1990.

Police decided the matter was a civil one between Guinness and the campaigners, who are, in effect, squatting on the land. Inspector George Porter, of Battersea police station, said: "We will notify the owners of the land and it is down to them. At the moment the position is — let them [the protesters] get on with it."

The day started at a meeting point in Shepherd's Bush, west London, where people had been urged to turn up with gardening and carpentry tools. Three full coaches drove off to the site, which was only revealed once the convoy had crossed the Thames.

A lorry containing tyres, pallets, tarpaulins, and scaffolding was unloaded, and the crowd divided into separate groups responsible for areas including compost toilets, the geodesic dome, and kitchens.

The first building up was a yurt, a wooden Mongolian hut, built by architect Anja Brinkmann, aged 28. She said: "The yurt is very economic with materials and its size can be changed easily."

Many of the campaigners will live on the site for a week. Events like storytelling, circus stunts, acoustic music and painting have been planned. It is hoped that some people will stay on.

Mr Monbiot hoped that Guinness would look positively on the village, as it was a company with a good environmental reputation.

"We feel that if they respond positively to this they can boost their public image, and we can come to an agreement that will suit both parties."

Guinness said a decision would be made after the bank holiday. "Safeway wanted to put a supermarket there and we also planned housing and riverside walks, but the council turned us down on the grounds there are enough supermarkets already. We shall be appealing on June 4 against that decision. No one could have tried harder than Guinness to redevelop this site."

Campaigners leafleted the roads nearby with information about the sustainable village.

Leader comment, page 8

Pills quiz over party death of policeman's daughter

A SENIOR policeman's daughter died early yesterday at an all-night party where tablets were handed out among the guests.

Police have started an investigation, and a toxicology report is being drawn up after the death of Claire Pierce, aged 20, daughter of Superintendent Roy Pierce, a member of Nottingham police for more than 25 years.

Guests who found Ms Pierce lying on a settee during the party at a house in Meden Vale, near Mansfield, at first thought she was asleep. But one then felt her hand and found it was ice-cold. An ambulance was called and a police doctor certified her dead.

Yesterday Superintendent Mick Salt, of Nottingham police, said: "The partygoers had been drinking alcohol and some tablets had been circulated, but at this stage we don't know what type they were."

"We are interviewing the 15 people who were in the house but there may be others we have to see. There is no sug-



Claire Pierce... found dead at all-night party

gestion at this stage that it is a criminal inquiry, and no one has been arrested."

Mr Salt, who said the party was not a rave, added that Ms Pierce — who had just won a place as a student nurse at a Leeds hospital — "was a very nice, pleasant young lady who was no problem to her family".

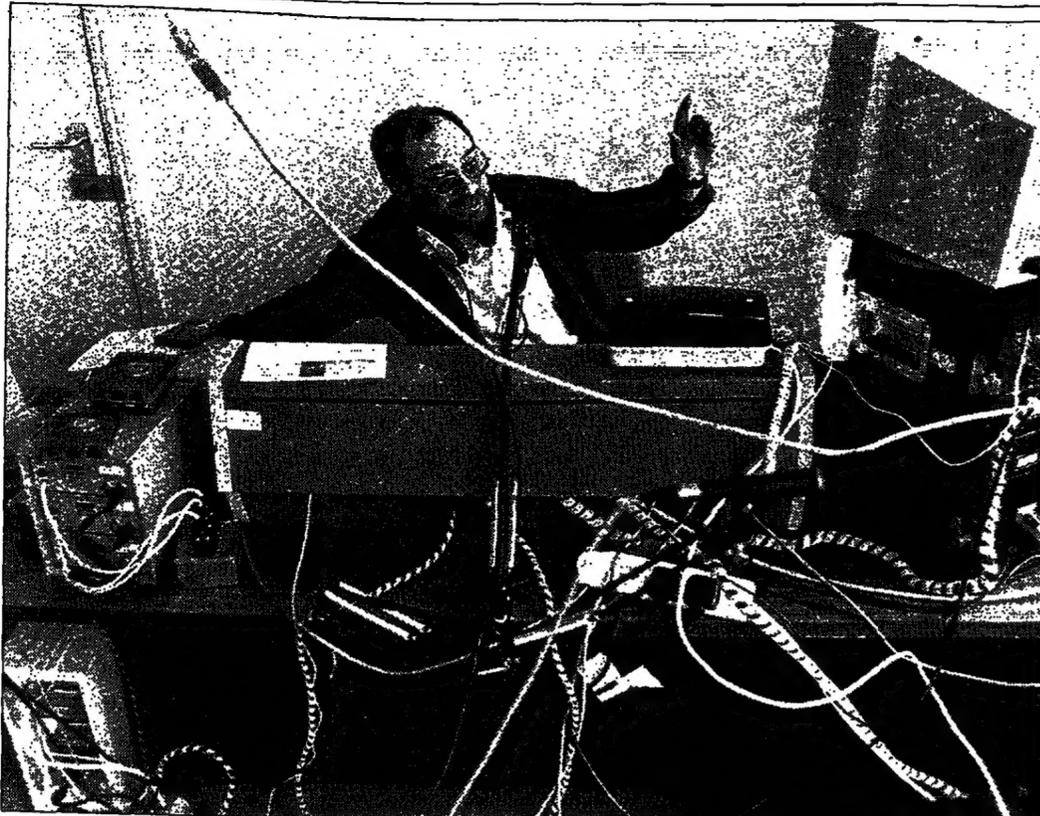
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THEATRE LOW



Producer Paul Usiskin in the north London studios of Shalom, 'radio made by Jews for Jews'

PHOTOGRAPH: SEAN SMITH

Shalom broadcasts message of Jewish unity

Anne Karpf on the launching of a radio station dedicated to filling a minority gap

"SHALOM," said the man who answered the phone, not in greeting, but simply announcing the name of the radio station. Shalom, 87.7 FM, Britain's first all-Jewish station, was launched yesterday morning. It will broadcast to north London for 28 days from a North Finchley shopping centre under a restrictive services licence.

Among its features is a Rabbi Hotline, and every afternoon in Matchmakers, a sympathetic "bubba" (granny figure) will attempt to do on-air what Jewish grandmothers have for centuries done off-air - marry off the young.

The senior producer, Paul Usiskin, a Radio 5 Live contributor and independent TV producer, says: "There's a feeling that the London Jewish community has not been best served by only two hours a day of Jewish broadcasting on the multi-ethnic Spectrum Radio, and one hour a week on the BBC local radio station GLR. This is a community that's shrinking and deserves a radio station that helps it unify."

Shalom plans to apply for a permanent franchise, and the team looks enviously across the Channel to France, which has six Jewish radio stations, and three in Paris alone. And though France's Jewish community is more than twice as large as England's, the station's other co-director, Doug Dalglish (a BBC TV News engineer), argues that the Greek and Turkish communities have their own radio stations although their populations are much smaller than the estimated 150,000-180,000 Jews in London.

But how cohesive are London's Jews, and will the station tolerate a plurality of views? It's clearly Israel-oriented: the station opened to the sounds of the Israeli national anthem, and in the evenings there are three hours of programming in Hebrew made by London-based Israelis. The station got its franchise to cover the Israeli general election on May 29.

Jobs sex bias hits men

THE battle of the sexes is now incurring more male casualties than female, at least on the front-line of job recruitment. New figures show that for the first time, more men than women complained to the Equal Opportunities Commission that they had been passed over for employment because of their sex.

The commission's annual report, to be published next month, will show that last year 830 men and 803 women complained about sexual discrimination in job recruitment. Complaints from men were also 10 per cent up on the previous year and reached record levels.

Experts attribute the shift to the changing nature of employment and the decline of traditionally "male" jobs in sectors such as manufacturing and heavy industry. Men are complaining of sex bias when they seek jobs in the stereotypically female service sector and caring professions, and are also facing increased competition for available jobs as more women go out to work.

Lloyd plans legal challenge over Labour's decision to dump him

Rebecca Smithers Political Correspondent
JOHN LLOYD, the Labour Parliamentary candidate for Exeter who was ordered to step down because of his South African past, is seeking a judicial review of its decision.

Mr Lloyd, a barrister and deputy leader of Exeter city council, is to challenge alleged irregularities in the procedures adopted by the party's national executive committee. His move comes ahead of a key meeting of the Exeter party tomorrow night.

Firm could own a quarter of passenger network French rail bidder 'to expand in UK'

Keith Harper
A QUARTER of Britain's rail passenger network could soon be in the hands of a French company under investigation for alleged corruption. The sewage and waste disposal company's interest in the UK was confirmed in Paris yesterday by Antoine Hurel, a senior executive of the Générale Des Eaux group of companies, which has just been awarded the franchise to operate British Rail's Network South Central Division. It plans to start services at the end of the month.

The investigation involves only one of a large number of subsidiary companies, and the rail group of Générale Des Eaux is not involved in the investigations. Preliminary inquiries have been carried out by magistrates into allegations concerning the award of contracts, mainly in Africa, but nobody has been charged. Mr Hurel stressed that the company has further ambitions in the UK. It is shortlisted for Chiltern Railways and South East Railways, which controls suburban services from Kent into London. It would like at least five of the 25 passenger franchises which were split from BR.

Mr Hurel, managing director of Générale Des Eaux's rail arm, said: "We are very much aware that there is a strong anti-privatisation lobby in the UK and we are trying to keep a low profile." He said that if the company were able to take over South East it would have two franchises next to each other in the largest contribution in Britain. It would be able to pool resources at places like Victoria Station and rationalise staff.

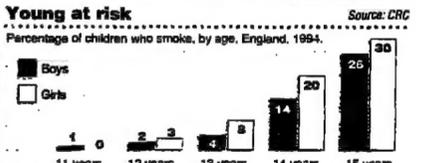
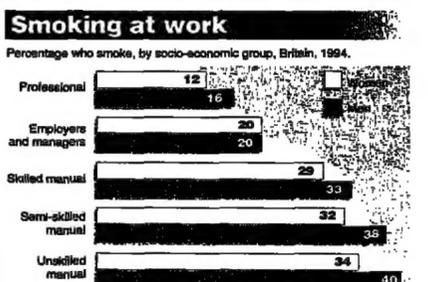
'We would like to have a portfolio with a mixture of value and quality'

Network South Central, which employs 3,000 staff, will add £100 million a year to the company's current £500 million turnover. The French intend to "change the culture" in the new company, called London & South Coast. Mr Hurel said: "Don't expect miracles or croissants and coffee, but there will be a significant improvement on the London to Brighton line, with 100mph speeds on the fast hourly services."

Mr Hurel emphasised that the French were long-term players. "We would like to have a portfolio of contracts, so there is a mix of providing value with the £85 million subsidy we will get in the first year, adding that bit of quality on top."

Tough tobacco curbs 'vital'

Chris Mihill Medical Correspondent
TOUGHER controls on smoking are needed to halt the lung cancer epidemic as government targets to cut cigarette consumption look increasingly unlikely to be met, the Cancer Research Campaign warns today.



The CRC says more needs to be spent on tobacco prevention campaigns, cigarette advertising should be banned, and the tax on cigarettes sharply increased. Lung cancer is the commonest cancer in men, responsible for 22 per cent of all new cancers. In women across the UK as a whole, it ranks third, behind breast and skin cancer. In Scotland and parts of the North of England lung cancer is the number one killer of women.

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Over party men's days

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6 WORLD NEWS

Minorities unite to try to keep BJP from power Indian nationalists poised for success

Suzanne Goldenberg
in New Delhi

INDIANS vote in the last main round of general elections tomorrow, and while they are unlikely to deliver a decisive verdict, they have signalled growing support for a rightwing Hindu party once confined to the margins of public life.

Opinion polls have been saying the Bharatiya Janata Party will win most seats in what will probably be hung parliament. The party, which has struggled for acceptance as a credible alternative to the ruling Congress, is at last being seen as a potential party of government.

A poll in yesterday's Times of India, however, suggests that the BJP's surge has lost steam. Muslims and other communities, alarmed at the prospect of a BJP government, are throwing their support behind candidates with a chance of beating the party's candidates.

The BJP has tried recently to ingratiate itself with Muslims. But it is still seen as the party which provoked the wave of religious fervour that led to the destruction of a historic mosque in Ayodhya in December 1992. Dalits (formerly untouchables) and low-caste Hindus also seem unimpressed by the BJP's efforts to win them over.

Yesterday's poll gave the Congress 169 seats, the BJP 165, and the National Front-Left Front alliance of regional parties 145 seats in the 543-seat parliament.

Sunder Singh Bhandari, the BJP's vice-president, said the party was determined to try to form a government by roping in regional allies. Unalied regional parties will be crucial in forming the government.

The past 12 years have seen

a spectacular rise in the fortunes of the BJP, which was previously shunned for its association with the Hindu fanatics who assassinated Mahatma Gandhi in 1948. It won only two seats in the 1994 elections, but had 119 MPs in the last parliament.

The party's rise represents a backlash by Brahmins and other upper-caste Hindus against affirmative action programmes for Dalit and low-caste Hindus.

"This unprecedented anger was encouraged by the BJP and used by the BJP to consolidate their hold on the

'Every Indian is a Hindu. No nation can be strong unless it is one people'

Hindu upper castes," said Purushottam Aggarwal, an associate professor at Delhi's Jawaharlal Nehru University. "The BJP will continue to be a significant force in Indian society because it represents the vested interests of Hindu society."

The BJP emerged in 1981, but its roots lie in the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, a secretive, paramilitary organisation that was founded for two years after Gandhi's assassination.

Unlike the Congress, the RSS, which was founded in 1925, played no role in India's freedom struggle. Its members are not allowed to marry and still assemble after dawn for military-style exercises. They never regarded imperial Britain as the enemy, but the Muslim rulers who arrived in India 800 years ago.

Members of the RSS saw themselves as the guardians of a cultural identity inseparable from majority Hinduism — discounting Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, who together make up nearly 20 per cent of the population, as not true Indians.

"Every Indian is a Hindu. That's why we call Muslims as Mohammed Hindus," Mr Bhandari said. "No nation can be strong unless it is one people."

Although the BJP has sought to distance itself in public from extremist Hindu groups, the RSS continues to act as the party's conscience. Lal Kishan Advani, the BJP president and Atal Behari Vajpayee, the would-be prime minister, were both RSS members, as are most leading figures in the party.

Mr Vajpayee, aged 71, is seen as the liberal face of the BJP. A poet and former journalist, he has spent most of his adult life in politics, and served as external affairs minister in the 1977 Janata Party government.

Unlike the Congress, which has promised to carry on with economic reforms begun in 1981, the BJP is ambivalent about the entry of foreign firms into India's markets.

"It should be decided on each case and Indian entrepreneurs should take the lead in deciding which firms come in," Mr Bhandari said.

BJP leaders have championed the *swadeshi*, or self-reliance movement, which led to the looting and destruction of the first Kentucky Fried Chicken franchise in January.

The party also takes a more hawkish line on defence, and condemns the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty as "nuclear apartheid", benefiting the developed world while leaving India exposed to its arch-enemy, Pakistan.

Pakistan blamed for unrest

Our correspondent
in New Delhi

INDIA'S prime minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, used his final campaign appearance yesterday to accuse Pakistan of provoking unrest and trying to force the cancellation of elections in Kashmir.

Mr Rao, speaking at a rally in Jammu, the Hindu-dominated winter capital of the state, said elections were the only way of healing the wounds of a seven-year separatist uprising.

He said Pakistan knew better than to attack India directly. "It knows from the experience of the last three wars

that it cannot attack India and snatch away Kashmir from us, so it thought of creating disturbances in the valley and making the people suffer."

Mr Rao's attempts to revive the legislative assembly in Kashmir, which New Delhi dissolved six years ago, foundered after the election commission said the state was too violent to hold polls.

Kashmir surfaced as an election issue a week ago when the Pakistani high commissioner, Riaz Khokhar, dismissed elections in the state as a "fraud." Observers agree that all elections but one in Kashmir have been rigged.

Yesterday also marked the end of 10 months in captivity for two Britons, an American, and a German tourist taken hostage by Kashmiri separatist gunmen last July.

Although Indian negotiators have had no contact for several months with al-Faraz, the previously unknown group holding the men, officials said yesterday they still believed all were alive and well.

Media monster dogs Mexico

Phil Gunson in Mexico City

FEAR stalks the Mexican countryside from Veracruz on the Caribbean to Sinaloa on the Pacific: a nocturnal killer that work, although his identity remains a mystery.

Its animal victims are said to have been drained of blood. Two puncture marks in the neck are a clear indication, say peasant farmers, that the culprit is the *chupacabras*, or goat-sucker. The beast first hit the headlines last year in Puerto Rico before transferring its attentions to Miami.

"We're all very scared," said Alicia Rodriguez in the hamlet of El Falsán, Nuevo León. "No one goes out at night, especially since we heard the news about the lady that was attacked by the beast in Sinaloa," she told the Reforma newspaper.

Teodora Ayala, aged 21, of the Alfonso G. Calderón farming community, claims to have been bitten on the neck and face by the creature as she sat on her back porch at night.

The absence of hard evidence as to the creature's identity has only fuelled the speculation. The favourite theories are that it is a bat-like animal standing almost 4ft tall, and an extra-terrestrial.

In Puerto Rico, where many claim to have seen the *chupacabras*, it is described as a hideous beast with an oval head, bulging red eyes and skin "like a dinosaur".

Two months ago, when the phenomenon made its appearance in Florida, the mystery killer's reputation really took off.

Despite efforts by police and zoologists, who pointed to clear evidence that a large dog was to blame, the *chupacabras* is now well established in local mythology.

So popular has it become that it now has its own homepage site on the Internet.

One of Latin America's most popular television programmes, the Cristina chat show recorded in Miami devoted a special report to the subject which sceptics suggest may have contributed to sightings as far away as El Salvador and Costa Rica.

Medical scientists are as sceptical as their Miami colleagues. Commenting on the wounds in one attack, David Barrón, a pathologist at the Chapultepec zoo, said "what we have seems to be a series of holes that could have been made by any sharp instrument in common use".

A pawprint found at the site of one attack was identified as that of a dog. Other experts have suggested a large felina, such as a puma, was responsible.

Modern life is a weighty problem for 70m Chinese

AP in Beijing

CHINA, which fought famine for centuries, now has more than 70 million overweight inhabitants, according to a recent survey.

The figure represents less than 6 per cent of China's population of 1.2 billion, but shows how times have changed.

In centuries of battling starvation, China developed a culture in which saying someone had gained weight was considered a compliment because it suggested prosperity.

But almost 20 years of economic reforms have meant that obesity, in the early 1990s, schools and hospitals began holding "fat camps" for overweight children during school holidays.

The survey found that more than 40 per cent of adults in Beijing are overweight.

The results were reported in yesterday's China Women's News. It did not say how the survey was conducted or define what was meant by overweight.

Another recent newspaper report blamed the increasing weight problem on the arrival of Western fast food chains.



Precious cargo... A baby is lifted up to fleeing Liberians packing the ship at Monrovia's port. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF UNICEF

Liberia fighting sparks exodus

Thomas Christian in Monrovia

ETHNIC Krahn fighters pushed out of their barracks in Liberia's capital to the beach, sparking Taylor's forces yesterday.

Witnesses said the Krahn caught and executed five of Mr Taylor's fighters.

Thick black smoke from rocket-propelled grenades hung over the city as the Krahn pushed up to the Mamba Point district.

They reached the area around the Graystone compound, five minutes' walk from the United States embassy. Thousands of people, driven from their homes by the fighting, are camping at Graystone, which is protected by embassy security staff.

But West African Economic peakers stopped them advancing further, telling them they were getting too close to the embassy.

The fighters finally withdrew, torching buildings as they went, and it was not clear who controlled the city.

The fighting raged as Krahn warrior Roosevelt Johnson, arrived in Ghana's capital, Accra, where emergency peace talks will begin on Tuesday. The US backs the mini-summit of the Economic Community of West African States, where Nigeria's ruler, General Abdulsalam Abacha, will be a key player. Nigeria leads the Economic force.

Negotiators said on Saturday they had persuaded Mr Taylor to agree to a ceasefire following Mr Johnson's departure but he later denied all knowledge of a truce.

He said the chairman of Liberia's ruling council, Wilton Sankawulo, would represent him and Alhaji Kromah, his fellow vice-chairman on the council and ally, at the talks.

Meanwhile, a rusted freighter crammed with 2,000 Liberians fleeing the fighting sailed out of Monrovia for Ghana and Lagos yesterday.

Hundreds of people said they had bought 250 tickets and paid extra for their luggage, which was on board, but were unable to get on the crowded boat. Passengers have only the food and water they could carry for the trip, which will take at least four days. — Reuters

Violence threatens KwaZulu-Natal poll

David Beresford in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA'S cabinet is expected to meet today for a critical decision on whether to proceed with elections in KwaZulu-Natal after a weekend gun battle in central Durban left eight people injured.

The president, Nelson Mandela, was consulting security chiefs on whether to send extra troops into the province. The ANC in KwaZulu-Natal demanded the declaration of a state of emergency.

The gunfire broke out during a march staged by the

National Hostel Residents' Association — a group linked to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) — to protest against a government ban on the carrying of "traditional" weapons.

According to witnesses, gunmen among the 7,000 demonstrators fired assault rifles. Three police officers were among those injured. A woman was later shot dead, apparently by demonstrators firing from a train on their way home from the march.

Inkatha's leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelesi, who has threatened to pull out of the coalition government if the May 29 local government polls are postponed — claimed at the weekend that

the ANC was trying to stop the election because it was in danger of being thrashed.

The chief gave the local press a copy of what he claimed was an internal ANC report conceding that its political organisation in KwaZulu-Natal was in a shambles, and concluding that its workers needed a postponement to "properly prepare ourselves".

Efforts to break the continuing deadlock in negotiations over South Africa's final constitution this week are likely to fuel tension about the elections.

The National Party's executive is due to decide tonight whether to oppose the legisla-

tion when it goes to a vote on Wednesday, possibly forcing a referendum.

The Nationalists are demanding constitutional guarantees for the continued existence of Afrikaans-medium schools. There is speculation they may support the constitution, on the grounds that they have nothing to gain from a referendum, and then withdraw from the government.

Chief Buthelesi, whose IFP has boycotted the constitutional talks, said at the weekend that the new constitution would create further problems for KwaZulu-Natal.

"There is no sense that it is our constitution," he said. "Nevertheless, we have lived

under that kind of thing for many decades, because the various minority governments imposed constitutions on the majority for a very long time."

There were ugly scenes on Saturday at the funeral of a Zulu princess, allegedly murdered by Inkatha supporters, when rival factions struggled for control of the proceedings.

Princess Nonhlanhla Zulu was kidnapped and killed by hostel dwellers nine days ago.

Heckling broke out when a notorious Inkatha warlord, Prince Gideon Zulu, arrived without armed bodyguards and delivered an oration denouncing President Mandela. Many mourners left in disgust.

Drop-out mums to lose welfare

Martin Walker in Washington

PRESIDENT Clinton is to bypass Congress and use his executive powers to impose a reform that would slash welfare payments to teenage mothers who leave home and drop out of school, but provide bonuses for those who stay on to graduate.

The only way for teen mothers to break free from the cycle of welfare dependency and to escape the welfare trap, is to live at home, stay in school, and get the education they need to get a good job," Mr Clinton said.

Welfare remains one of the most contentious issues in American politics, and Mr Clinton's reform is a pre-emptive strike to rob the Republicans of one of their stronger campaign themes as the presidential election campaign gets under way.

More than 500,000 babies a year are born to teenage mothers in the United States. The vast majority of them unmarried. Single mothers are the group least likely to break from the welfare system once they have joined it.

"We have to make it clear that a baby doesn't give you the right, and won't give you the money, to leave home and drop out of school. We are moving to make responsibility a way of life, not an option," Mr Clinton said.

The president's use of executive authority follows two failed attempts to persuade

Congress to pass welfare bills that would fulfil his campaign promise "to end welfare as we know it".

Despite the bills' failure, the structure of welfare has changed significantly in the last three years as Mr Clinton has signed waivers allowing 37 states to sidestep federal rules on welfare spending and introduce experiments.

As a result, 76 per cent of those on welfare are on experimental waivers. The new reform to curtail welfare payments for teen mothers who leave school is patterned on a successful experiment run by the Republican governor George Voinovich in Ohio.

As a result of the presidential waiver, the broad principle of requiring school attendance in return for a welfare cheque is already in force in 26 states, and the rule that teen mothers must be living in a household headed by a responsible adult is in force in 21 states.

The US crime rate fell for the fourth consecutive year as murders reported to the police dropped 8 per cent in 1995 from 23,300 killings in 1994, the FBI said yesterday.

The FBI said murders posted the sharpest decline among violent crimes, which decreased 4 per cent from the 1994 level. New York reported 1,170 murders in 1995, down from 1,561 in 1994. Los Angeles had five more killings at 940 last year while the number of homicides fell in Chicago to 824 from 928, and in Detroit to 475 from 541.

Eritrea's women fighters long for equality of war

Returning to a society that expects them to be subservient is hard for the former guerrillas. James McKinley reports

SOME wife Nuria Mohammed Saleh says she finds herself missing the war. Not the fear and horror. Not even the adrenaline and camaraderie of soldiering. She misses being treated like a man.

Like thousands of Eritrean women, Mrs Saleh fought with the men in the rebel army that freed the rocky land from Ethiopian rule in 1991. Like most women veterans here, she has found it hard to return to the deeply traditional and patriarchal society she left behind as a teenager.

A few years ago, she recalled, she was hammering the enemy with mortar fire. Now she sweeps floors for a pound a day. The only hint of her past are the shrapnel scars.

"It was better when we were in the field," she said. "We were equal with the men, and we got good treatment."

Mrs Saleh is one of about 20,000 women who have been discharged from the Eritrean army in the past two years as part of a larger demobilisation of almost 52,000 troops. Though about 3,000 remain in the army, most women were sent home. Some had spent

their entire adult lives in the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. Most have little education, having left school to fight.

The front changed their lives, they said. The rebel commanders were Marxist and treated women as equals. The front's soldiers were taught to ignore sexual, tribal and religious differences. Women were

trained to drive tanks, fight and handle big guns. A handful rose to command rebel battalions. Many married fighters from other religions and tribes.

Outside the army in rebel-controlled regions, because the Liberation Front required most men to be in combat, women broke traditional moulds, working as dentists, medical technicians, administrators, factory workers, mechanics, and teachers, a United Nations report said.

But if women guerrillas

had hoped that fighting in the war would change their status in Eritrean society, they have discovered that traditions die hard.

Several said their families had rejected their post-war marriages and employers had been reluctant to hire them for skilled jobs.

Traditionally women had little power in Eritrea, a country split between Orthodox Christians and Muslims. Women are not allowed to own livestock in much of Eritrea. In some ethnic groups, women are not expected to speak in front of men and must wait until men have finished before starting their meals.

"When they came back, the society had not really changed. It had not moved," Senait Ogbazghi, a spokeswoman for Unicef in Asmara, said. "It was very difficult for the women fighters."

The new government has tried to cement some of the gains women made during the war by insisting on equality in public hiring and ordering all village councils to be one-third women.

"We would like to keep that momentum, to continue to allow more women participation in all aspects of life," President Isaias Afwerki said. "It's the attitudes in the society that always become an obstacle." — New York Times

It was a revolutionary concept in television. It was about the way ordinary people lived their lives: their heartbreaks, their worries and medical problems, their joys, their setbacks and recoveries; in short, their everydayness. Jaci Stephen on Richard and Judy

Handwritten scribble at the bottom of the page.

Liberia fighting sparks exodus

John Palmer in Brussels, Ian Black and David Fairhall in London

Nato changes pose questions for role of WEU

John Palmer in Brussels, Ian Black and David Fairhall in London

NATO'S American-dominated military command structure is to be radically reorganised to make room for the return of the French, prompting new questions about how European Union countries will organise security operations on their own.

Under plans being developed in Brussels, European Nato commanders may be mandated to run separate missions for the Western European Union (WEU) — the embryonic defence arm of the EU — using Nato resources.

But the WEU has already made clear it will not take over responsibility for consolidating the Bosnian peace settlement when the mandate of the Nato-led implementation force, I-FOR, runs out at the end of the year.

"No... the magnitude of the task... it is simply too big," Jose Cutileiro, the WEU's Portuguese secretary-general, said.

Foreign Office sources said it was crucial that the United States remain involved in any post-I-FOR arrangement, to avoid a return to bitter transatlantic rows over Bosnia.

But the European commissioner for foreign affairs, Hans van den Broek, called on the EU last Friday to decide what it and the WEU might do to avoid a dangerous military vacuum after any American troop withdrawal.

WEU foreign and defence ministers meet in Birmingham tomorrow to review progress on operational capabilities and consider future relations with Nato.

Today the two organisations are to sign an agreement allowing the WEU ac-

cess to Nato documents and communications codes.

Apart from giving Washington's European partners more responsibility for their own security, a second phase of Nato's structural reform was intended to help the alliance prepare a gradual expansion into the former communist countries of eastern Europe.

But restructuring has been accelerated by President Jacques Chirac's decision to complete the reintegration of French forces into Nato at the same time as his country's defence capability is overhauled.

Britain vehemently opposes giving the EU any direct military responsibilities, but it now accepts that the WEU, and by extension the EU, will play a bigger role in future European security.

Most EU countries want the WEU to be absorbed into the EU, possibly in stages, to achieve a common European defence as set out in the Maastricht treaty.

Military chiefs from all 16 Nato countries — including France — have agreed on the outlines of a more streamlined command structure.

This follows agreement that Nato can transfer "combined joint task force" units — fighting troops, with headquarters staff, communications and logistical backup — to the WEU for alliance-approved, European-run missions.

These operations include peacekeeping, peace enforcement and other humanitarian missions.

The French government, which for the last 30 years has refused to join Nato's integrated military command because it was dominated by the Americans, sees the agreement as "a breakthrough for a European defence identity".

Minister denounces efforts by Bosnia and Serbia to charge fee for war exiles returning from Germany

Refugee 'tax' angers Bonn

Ian Traynor in Bonn

THE governments of Bosnia and Serbia are seeking to capitalise on the plight of hundreds of thousands of Balkan refugees sheltering in Germany by demanding payment to allow them to return home, according to government officials in Bonn.

Manfred Kanther, Germany's tough-talking interior minister, said the Bosnian government was blocking negotiations on repatriation between Bonn and Sarajevo and demanding payment for the proposed returns.

"They are demanding more money — that can't be," Mr Kanther said.

Local authority leaders in

government-controlled parts of Bosnia — almost all under the control of President Alija Izetbegovic's ruling Muslim Democratic Action Party — were stipulating that each returnee from Germany bring "taxes" of up to DM10,000 (£4,400), a well-placed aid official disclosed.

"It's a poker game," the official said. "Everybody wants the money. It's always the same."

There are at least 330,000 refugees from the war in Germany, about 75 per cent of Bosnia's pre-war population and a figure that eclipses the number of Bosnians scattered across the rest of the European Union.

Mr Kanther is anxious to see them begin to return, arguing that they are testing the limits of German generosity

and hospitality. But last Friday, he was forced to concede that his deadline of July 1 for the beginning of deportations was no longer practicable, given the fragile condition of the Bosnian peace process and the halting pace of the civilian reconstruction effort.

Mr Kanther also accused Bosnia's government of insisting on being allowed to vet returning refugees, a demand that he rejected.

He also attacked the Serbian government of President Slobodan Milosevic for blocking the return of thousands of other migrants to Germany, and for trying to exact payment for co-operation.

Ethnic Albanians from the tense south Serbian province of Kosovo are pouring into Germany at the rate of more than 2,000 a month, according

to the Bonn office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

There are now thought to be at least 130,000 Kosovo Albanians in Germany who are not war refugees but mostly failed asylum-seekers. The German authorities want to deport them, but Serbia refuses to take them back.

Mr Kanther also accused Croatia of being in cahoots with Bosnia's government in seeking to block repatriation.

Germany needs transit agreements with Austria, Slovenia and Croatia to begin sending the Bosnians home since the vast majority of them will travel overland.

The government of President Franjo Tudjman in Croatia is bent on delaying an influx of Muslims into Bosnia because this would tip the

ethnic balance of the Muslim-Croat federation established in half of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Muslims' favour.

A confidential German foreign ministry report that helped Mr Kanther decide to delay ejecting the Bosnians warned that a mass return of refugees from abroad could sink the ailing federation.

A durable coexistence of Muslims and Croats in a common federation was "far from assured", the report warned. The return of refugees was meeting "massive resistance from local Croats".

The report envisaged a bleak future for Bosnia and anticipated the persecution of non-Serbs returning to areas under Serb control.

The UNHCR estimates that as many as 70 per cent of the 320,000 Bosnian refugees in

Germany are Muslim victims of Serb ethnic cleansing, drummed out of their lands in areas now under Serb control.

Most will be unable to return to their native areas and will need to be accommodated in the Muslim-Croat federation, but that prospect is generating fierce Croat opposition.

Officials from the five-power "contact group" on Bosnia — the United States, Russia, Germany, France and Britain — met in Frankfurt last night to discuss the refugee crisis. The head of the UNHCR, Sadako Ogata, begins a tour of Bosnian hotspots today in an attempt to galvanise the repatriation process.

"Basic principles have to apply: that people can return where they came from," Mrs Ogata said.

Vikings in leather wage biker feud

Jon Henley in Helsinki

IT IS an outlandish war, waged in one of the world's most unlikely trouble spots. The protagonists have names like Svend "the Swine" Holst and Joergen "Fur" Nielson. But the weapons are serious: anti-tank missiles and anti-tank missiles.

In the past 18 months, four men have died and a dozen more have been injured as rival Nordic Hell's Angels and Bandidos bikers wage a war of attrition in an open prison near Copenhagen and throw a hand grenade into a cell, critically wounding its occupant, a Bandidos member.

Ambro Kragh, a Danish journalist and author, attributes the flare-up to the region's wealth and liberal legal systems.

"These gangs are criminal, they're involved in drug dealing and prostitution rackets. And the justice systems here mean it's very hard to get convicted. They even get government funding as clubs for motorbike aficionados."

The feud began in earnest two years ago when Denmark's Hell's Angels allowed the rival Bandidos,

an offshoot of the Texas gang, to set up a local chapter. The Bandidos now rival the California-based Hell's Angels 100-plus membership across the region.

The latest victim of the feud was Jarikko Eero, the leader of the Finnish Bandidos, who died after being shot on a central Helsinki street on March 2.

The gang's Danish chief, Uffe Larsen, was mown down by automatic gunfire at Copenhagen airport on March 10 as he returned from a gang meeting in Helsinki. A Norwegian member attending the same meeting was badly wounded in a simultaneous shoot-out at Oslo airport.

At Mr Larsen's funeral, leather-clad Bandidos from Europe, America and Australia swore revenge. Wearing armbands reading "Cut one, we all bleed", they vowed to act "in our own way, in our own time".

On April 10, a Hell's Angels base in Sweden near the south-western city of Helsingborg was set ablaze by shoulder-fired anti-tank missiles stolen from an army base. Days later, similar rockets ploughed into Hell's Angels clubhouses in Copenhagen and Jutland.

Mr Kragh said Britain's Outlaws gang had promised to come to the Bandidos' aid in Denmark. "We'll have three of the world's four main criminal biker gangs battling it out in the land of Hans Christian Andersen. It won't be a fairy tale."

Prussian revival founders as Brandenburg snubs Berlin

Ian Traynor in Bonn

VOTERS in the eastern German state of Brandenburg yesterday snubbed Berlin and decided to reject a merger with the capital.

A referendum on whether to fuse Berlin and Brandenburg in a federal state of 6 million people, talked of as a revived Prussia, gained 55.5 per cent support in the capital, projections showed.

But a majority in both states was required for the project to go ahead and the merger was sunk by a 55.5 per cent vote against in the mainly rural Brandenburg.

The two co-existed happily in the Prussian heartland for 700 years before the allies dissolved Prussia in 1947.

Leading politicians of left and right have campaigned strongly for a return to what they view as a more rational and natural order.

The outcome was a setback for the two big parties, the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats.

They argued forcefully for the merger which they said

would save billions and attract investment.

The Social Democrat prime minister of Brandenburg, Manfred Stolpe, conceded defeat and said he could now be made scapegoat for the result.

Berlin's Christian Democrat mayor, Eberhard Diepgen, said he was very disappointed by the "wasted chance".

The PDS, the former communists who once ruled East Germany, secured victory after denouncing the plans of the two big parties.

Pundits and politicians agreed that the tumult of transformation in the five years since communism's collapse and reorganisation had left people weary of change.

The voters of Brandenburg, a rural state of 2.5 million people, evidently feared surrendering their autonomy in a new state dominated by the metropolis of 3.5 million.

The pro-merger vote in Berlin came as a mild surprise considering the people of West Berlin in particular had feared being "easternised" by life alongside Brandenburg and East Berlin.



Gutted... Firemen spray water over the headquarters of the Crédit Lyonnais bank near the Place de l'Opera in Paris yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: FRANCIS MOR

Smoke clouds central Paris as fire engulfs troubled bank

Paul Webster in Paris

FIREMEN battled all day to save the Crédit Lyonnais head office in central Paris yesterday, but flames destroyed all but a few offices in a building where 4,000 people work.

About 30 firemen and four bank staff were burnt or overcome by smoke in one of the city's most spectacular post-war fires which sent black smoke rising hundreds of feet above the Place de l'Opera area.

Nearby buildings in the business and financial quarter between the Boulevard des Capucines and the Rue de la Harpe were evacuated for fear that flames would spread.

Six hours after the fire was reported at 8.32am in the bank's market trading room, hopes that the blaze was under control were dashed when flames gutted the boardroom and spread rapidly to the roof.

More turntable ladders had to be brought in but most of the bank's 150,000 square feet were destroyed or flooded before the fire was finally under control.

Millions of pounds will have to be spent restoring the 118-year-old listed building with a dome and other features designed by Gustave Eiffel, and an iron double staircase copied from the stone staircase at Chambord in the Loire.

The fire, probably caused by an electrical short circuit, adds to years of financial setbacks for France's biggest state-owned bank as it tries to recover from bad property and entertainment investments and allegations of illicit political party funding.

World news in brief

Burundi's army 'killed more than 200 Hutu civilians'

BURUNDI'S Tutsi-dominated army killed more than 200 Hutu, mostly women and children, in a military operation in the centre of the country late last month, aid agency sources in the area said yesterday.

The sources, who did not

want to be identified, said troops killed 235 people in Buhoro, a mountain village, after Hutu rebels had killed some civilians there. The dead included 130 women and 67 children. Most were killed with bayonets.

The sources included wit-

nesses, people who personally had verified the body-count and those who had taken statements from survivors.

A military spokesman said he had no knowledge of an operation at Buhoro. Lieutenant-Colonel Isale Nibizi said: "All we know is that three

military personnel were killed on April 30 at Bugendana (a nearby village)."

In Kenya's capital Nairobi, the National Council for the Defence of Democracy — the political wing of Burundi's main rebel movement — condemned the killings. — Reuter.

Aznar sworn in as Spain's PM

SPAIN'S new prime minister, José María Aznar, was sworn in yesterday with most Spaniards, facing their first change in government for almost 14 years, greeting him with muted enthusiasm but open minds, *Adela Gooch in Madrid writes.*

"It is a great day for democracy heralding a fresh period of dialogue and stable government," Mr Aznar, aged 43, said after taking the oath of office before King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia.

Most Spaniards, however, seemed more concerned with celebrating Spain's Mother's Day than the dawn of a conservative era and the departure of the Socialist leader Felipe González, who had been in office since 1992.

"Well, you can't say that Aznar is charismatic," said Alfredo Vederia, a builder. "Even supporters of Mr Aznar's centre-right Popular Party were guarded."

"I can see what he's trying to do. But you can't please the unions and sort the economy out," Carlos García Durrie, a lawyer, said. "I think it's going to be a short honeymoon."

The cabinet Mr Aznar named yesterday includes two independents as defence and justice ministers, and a balance of hawks and doves in economics, which he says will be his priority.

Graft judge to join cabinet

Antonio Di Pietro, Italy's former anti-corruption magistrate, told the Ansa news agency at the weekend he did not intend to form his own political party, and had accepted the offer of a ministry in Romano Prodi's new centre-left government.

Meanwhile, President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro has pleaded for unity after Umberto Bossi, the leader of the Northern League, called for the secession of the rich north. — Reuter.

Poll announced

Liamine Zeroual, Algeria's president, told journalists yesterday he had proposed to talks with party leaders that general elections be held in early 1997, to be preceded by a referendum this year to amend the constitution. — Reuter.

Towns attacked

Guerrillas of the leftwing Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Farc) are suspected of having killed at least 16 people during raids on two towns in Urubá, north-west Colombia, an army official said yesterday. — Reuter.

China defiant

China's de facto embassy in Hong Kong said yesterday the provisional legislature it intends to appoint in the territory after it takes over in 1997 would be formed with or without the current administration's help. Hong Kong's administration has refused to co-operate with the planned body. — Reuter.

Hunt goes on

Authorities searching for William Colby, the former CIA director last seen canoeing six days ago, yesterday handed

Manama shops set ablaze by rebel arsonists

several areas in the capital Manama. There were no reports of casualties.

It was not clear what caused the fires. But the official Gulf News Agency said firefighters "found several explosive cigarette packets which were defused before they exploded."

Hostages seen

A Red Cross official and a doctor yesterday visited 11 hostages, four of them Britons, held since January by separatist rebels in Indonesia's Irian Jaya province. It was the first time they had been seen by outsiders in a month. — Reuter.

World news, delivered to your door.

The Guardian International and the Observer are both now available by subscription throughout France.

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The Guardian
theObserver
Premier Newspapers

Police on the old beat

Divided society is still the issue

A NEW occupation movement was launched yesterday. The aim is to occupy derelict sites and set up sustainable "villages" including gardens, vegetable plots and community projects for local people.

The main challenge facing the police remains as old as the service itself: a divided society in which there are huge disparities of wealth. If, as some historians have suggested, violent confrontations run in cycles, the most puzzling phenomenon of the last decade must be the low number of civil disturbances.

Where there have been disturbances and confrontations, the police often end up being blamed. Sometimes this is fair. They do make mistakes: insensitive arrests, slow responses, absent patrols.

The most worrying development in policing is its growing militarism. A force which wants to be known as a service has become too enamoured with the trappings of force. Part of this is understandable.

Palace perks for all

The royal family must downsize too

NEWS that the Queen is to end the perk of "grace and favour" residences for 50 of her leading courtiers is a wise if belated move. This matters not just because so many of the ancillary royals these days act without much grace and bestow the wrong kind of favours but because it is vital for the longevity of the monarchy to anticipate rather than follow public opinion.

The days when the monarchy was remote and immune from critical media concern are long gone. There is no reason why the bureaucracy running Buckingham Palace should live in subsidised luxury in the precincts of the palace when the Prime Minister's civil servants seem to be able to execute their tasks perfectly well while going home to the suburbs every night.

The Dream of John Bullsh*t...



Letters to the Editor

Rallying to the flag of Europe

NICHOLAS Budgen MP supports his Eurosceptic views with the statement that "we have been fortunate in not having been conquered in 1,000 years" (Pride of place, May 3).

Oh those poor unfortunate Germans, Danes, Dutch, et al. How they are suffering after all those invasions. I don't wish the horror of war upon us for a moment, but it is surely just this "history of victory" which has helped to create the superior attitude towards all things European so common among the Eurosceptics.

As Mr Budgen implies, our neighbours in continental Europe have had large and regular doses of humility forced upon them for many centuries. That painful experience has left them with a political flexibility and sense of connectiveness we can only dream of.

In anything other than a military context Mr Budgen is rather wide of the mark too: just about anything Brit-

ish or which Britain has excelled in has been well and truly conquered over the past 50 years, except our amazing national gift for what I can only call being superior.

No Mr Budgen, I am not British, I am English - the nation you and your friends forget - so please excuse me if I have no worries about being part of a European nation, by name, history and geography, it is where I feel at home.

THOSE who are engaged in whipping up chauvinistic anti-German sentiments in the tabloid press are doing so with an ulterior motive: to win the next election for the wealthy classes by diverting the resentment of the poor.

I believe the Eurosceptics underestimate the extent to which we in Britain, and our trade unions, have come to rely on European law to curb the wilder excesses of the Government - or perhaps this is why they wish to undermine European law.

of its people rather than its "economy" - is it can distinguish means and ends. In either case, Mr Ridley and Mrs Thatcher seem to have got it wrong, like our present Europhobes. Let's hope those who read the tabloids have more sense than those who write for them.

WHILE I understand that we are in the midst of a media Europhobic campaign driven by the internal squabbles of the Tories, I was pleased to see the Guardian (May 1) describe six cases in which the rights of individual citizens of the European Union had been upheld and enhanced as "Court losses".

I believe the Eurosceptics underestimate the extent to which we in Britain, and our trade unions, have come to rely on European law to curb the wilder excesses of the Government - or perhaps this is why they wish to undermine European law.

DEYAN SUDJICS' glib denigration of William Morris (Pursuing over the cracks, May 3) ignores his most important legacy: his political writings.

Morris still speaks to so many people today because he identified, with extraordinary prescience, the social and ecological consequences of the aggressive search for profit. When competitiveness becomes the ruling imperative, it is worth revisiting Morris for a passionate and eloquent reminder of its human cost.

With the benefit of historical hindsight, it is, of course, easy to criticise his aspirations as utopian. However, post-socialist disdain is an anachronistic response to Morris's attempts to articulate alternatives to late nineteenth century industrial capitalism.

Underneath the paper, William Morris's writing on the wall

time; the organisation of work, economic insecurity (and environmental destruction).

While we may disagree with some of his prescriptions, it is his attention to questions which have not gone away, and the generosity and humanity of his vision, which explain his continuing resonance.

YOUR supplement celebrating the 175th anniversary of the Guardian (May 4) was a top-down affair. Surely we rank and file readers and letter writers have played a role over the years in keeping guard over the radical principles of the Guardian as well?

Other sources of family pride are the reinstated hedgerows of Hawthorn, blackthorn, hazel and maple, all made possible by the Countryside Commission's hedgerow incentive scheme. In time, all this habitat creation will bring increased numbers of birds, insects and other animals.

Letters of intent

MARK COCKER

Local gains

TWO points about last Thursday's local election results:

1) There's one Tory councillor left in Sheffield, Liverpool, Rotherham and Barnsley. Is he going to claim car allowance? I think we should be told.

AT LAST the return of the missing "belonged" factor. I woke up the other morning to hear about yet another Tory rout and I felt very good.

TV's impotent witnesses

LIKE John Simpson (Blood on the carpet, May 1), I have witnessed a great deal of death and suffering over the years as a roving foreign correspondent. I agree with him that there is nothing shameful or voyeuristic about doing so, whereas most journalists over his belief that honest reporting of the horrors of Bosnia, Rwanda, Afghanistan and the rest will "jog the memories of voters" and thereby change the attitudes of indifferent western governments.

conclusion of Simpson's BBC colleague, Fergal Keane, after his experiences in Rwanda. In your own pages, Keane wrote: "I cannot pretend that my work made any tangible difference to the lives of those who survived the genocide, or influenced governments to change their policies."

Suffering for art

TIM RADFORD's doubts whether El Greco was great because he was astigmatic, Beethoven because he had gout, and Van Gogh because of the porphyria (Science fiction, Guardian, May 2) takes me way back to the 1940s. I was a schoolboy and competitors in Kingsley Martin's New Statesman were the cultural highlight of the week.

There's always an earlier reference: the poet (Prof) Brian Groombridge, 11 Denhill Road, London SW14 7DQ.

Battle for human rights in the armed forces

Endpiece

Roy Hattersley

NEXT Thursday the House of Commons debates the Armed Forces Bill. My grasp of parliamentary procedure was never very great. And what little I once knew is fast being forgotten. But, as I dimly recall, we examine naval and military law each year. And supremely boring the occasion usually is. Back in 1970, when the bill was under my command, the only controversial clause was headed Arson In A Royal Dockyard - the penalty for which was death. It has not been carried out for 100 years and remained on the statute book more as a relic of our glorious past than a deterrent to future arsonists.

Tender, does not, as crimes go, have much historical resonance. So I guess that the admirals were prepared to dispense with the rope.

Even though time - and the Government's obsession with privatisation - have made the yard-arm redundant, next Thursday ought to be an occasion to remember. For we debated an amendment which, if passed, would require the army, navy and air force to accept gay men and women into their ranks. There is a real danger that, on the following morning, some of the more solemn newspapers will describe the afternoon as "parliament at its best" - which since it means more pompous and pretentious than usual, is really parliament at its worst.

Think of what the reaction would have been if London District had announced that the absence of black guardsmen was attributable to white soldiers' reluctance to serve alongside them. Yet, as far as gay men and women are concerned, the Ministry of Defence seems perfectly happy to allow homophobes to dictate recruitment policy.

Putting aside what that reveals about some servicemen's uncertainty about their own sexuality, that statement of murderous intent raises important questions about respect for authority. How would members of the Army Force Board - not to mention Their Lords of Admiralty - react to the threat of violence following any other change in the Queen's Regulations? The answer is obvious and undeniable. They would puff out their beribboned chests and announce that capitulation to mutiny would be wholly incompatible with both the traditions and the fighting efficiency of the armed forces.

That is why the dismissal from the service of one gay man or lesbian woman is an affront to every homosexual in the country. When last week a wretched Scottish judge forbade a gay couple to adopt a child they had cherished for years, he was making the same insulting point. So was parliament when it refused to reduce the age of homosexual consent to 16. It is not just the people directly affected by the discrimination who suffer. Thousands like them know that their class and condition is being declared unworthy - unworthy to bear arms, unworthy to bring up children and in desperate need of protection from their own unworthy inclinations. Foul though I hold those views to be, I think I would prefer to hear them frankly expressed rather than listen to them being hidden away behind the pretence of responsibility.

Nobody can honestly believe that gay people lack courage or patriotism

the boneheaded assertion that he is not interested in political correctness as if the nation's view on gay men and women was a matter of choosing the right phrase with which to describe them. It is a matter of principle. We have to decide whether or not they are full and equal members of society. If they are, they can-

not be denied the rights enjoyed by other citizens.

Some of the most illustrious heroes of the second world war were the exact opposite. Nor, whether the Adjutant General, the Second Sea Lord and the Air Member for Personnel know it or not, are homosexuals likely to hop from barracks room bed to barracks room bed. That is the sort of libel - hinted at though rarely expressed - that characterises the services' whole attitude towards the homosexual debate.

The best word to describe it is ignorant. The word which should not be used in this connection is tolerance. Tolerance implies the generous acceptance of reprehensible behaviour. One of the recently dismissed servicewomen made the point exactly. We are, or should be, tolerant of screaming children, barking dogs and dripping taps. Next Thursday parliament will not discuss the possibility of grace and favour. It will debate the right of free men and women to live in the way they choose without facing public humiliation. The way we vote will not be a test of our magnanimity but of our belief in a free society.

Handwritten signature or note at the bottom of the page.

Beaconsfield Diary

Martin Walker

BACK in Britain to attend a conference and see the family, I found myself in the middle of a stealth campaign against Tony Blair and the Labour Party. My widowed mother had recently come into a modest inheritance from a brother who had died after many years abroad. To help her manage it, we made appointments with her lawyer, her bank and with that stand-by of modern family finance, an independent financial adviser. The first was the high street bank over a friendly cup of coffee. The usual branch manager who knows my mother by her first name was not there. Instead, we met the area sales manager, a chap who roams between the Thames Valley branches with his laptop and his clutch of investment plans. "We have to bear in mind that there is an election coming, Mrs Walker, and it looks as if the Labour Party could win. That means that taxes may well go up again, particularly for people like yourself with a house and a little bit of capital. So we have to think about precautions." The precautions turned out to be something called a Cluster Trust. This is a complex way of putting a nest-egg into a trust which is immune from inheritance taxes, while allowing mother to take a free annual income from the capital. It is all much more complex than that, involving trusts that cascade from one year to the next, but the effect is to let you have your cake and eat it, while none of it goes to the taxman. We began to grow accustomed to the way he asked questions, not in the form of conversation, but as so many bits of data to be entered into the program already purring away in his laptop. A few more key-strokes and the friendly banker explained how, with a little life insurance, inheritance taxes could be avoided altogether. At the next appointment, in another leafy Thames Valley town, just down the road from Beaconsfield, the family lawyer was also worrying about the Red Menace. "There's no point beating about the bush, Mrs Walker. It looks as if we are in for a Labour government, and that means higher taxes. Could be much higher. It means loopholes being closed, probably an attempt to go after capital that has already been sheltered in tax-free investments. "To be really safe, there's only one thing to do, and that is to get your capital offshore where Tony Blair and his friends can't get their hands on it," he began. "Luxembourg, that's the place. To someone like my mother, 'offshore' sounds ominously exotic and worryingly unfamiliar. Better the grasping Mr Blair than some sleek foreigner with his funny money. To ease such fears, we were handed on to the financial adviser, who held similar sentiments about the Blair threat. And serving to break the monotony, a video was handed to us. Reassurance was the main message, once we got home and played the tape. There was a solid-looking English chap acting as our guide to the Grand Duchy, and interviews with evidently sound British types who were based in Luxembourg and managed to dismiss the image of the sleek foreign financier. Their suggestion was for a conventional investment bond, with a fixed and tax-free income. There was no protection from inheritance taxes, only from the presumed rapacity of the next British government. After a while, even the financial novice starts to gain a certain familiarity with the concepts. The word "offshore" loses its spice. And the suggestion that Tony Blair and Gordon Brown have wicked designs on mother's nest-egg becomes steadily more routine. In bank after bank, law firm after law firm, Middle England is getting a party political broadcast on behalf of the Beware-Blair party. The irony is that once Middle England has safely put its savings out of reach of Mr Blair's clutches, whether into tax-free trusts or the Channel Islands or the secretive vaults of Luxembourg, then they can all vote Labour in confidence that their savings are safe.

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Ain't misbehavin', just naturally batty

Commentary Mark Lawson

FOR those armchair doctors monitoring the progress of that rampant modern disease the Big C — celebrity — last week offered a series of fascinating case histories. The comedian Michael Barrymore checked into a psychiatric hospital, seeking treatment for "stress, depression and exhaustion". The comic actor Steve Coogan is reportedly receiving counselling for "sex addiction". The radio and television presenter Chris Evans was the subject of much criticism in newspapers and on Radio 4's Feedback programme — for his increasingly abusive performances on air, and sideswipes at other entertainers. And the Newcastle football manager Kevin Keegan appeared to mislay his rag, his cool and his marbles while being interviewed on television after a match. There are three general theories of celebrity misbehaviour and distress. The first is that most high-profile entertainers are in some sense batty to begin with, their de-

rament inseparable from their creativity. (The psychologist, Dr Felix Post, gained a lot of attention last week for making a similar suggestion about writers, who, he reported, tended to be mad drunks). The second is that fame drives people crazy, which is usually meant the pressures of the public and the press — destroy equilibrium. The third is that celebrities simply have more opportunity to destroy and self-destruct than is offered to the average citizen. The case of Steve Coogan seems most obviously to represent the problems of opportunity. Most of us are unlikely ever to be lucky enough to discover if we are chronically addicted to sex, there's never been enough of the substance around for us to mainline on it. But the structures of show-business, public and private, are Christmas for the libido. Actors are probably not faithless by nature, but they happen to have a job which frequently requires them to kiss and pretend to have sex with other people. In turn, their celebrity increases their sexual attractiveness. The actor Michael Douglas also once had a sex addiction but his real difficulty was sexual opportunity. Celebrity has the effect of making latent appetites satisfiable. If Michael Jackson had been a cost accountant instead of a rock star, he might still

have wanted to have small boys sleeping over in his bed, but it is less likely that their parents or his local community would have permitted it. Had she not become a princess, Diana Spencer's fascination with playing doctors and nurses would probably have ended in the nursery rather than in Dr Magli Yacoub's operating theatre. Similarly, a business such as entertainment — which requires coherence and concentration for periods of a maximum of a couple of hours — more easily accommodates drug and alcohol abuse than would aviation or medicine. This suggestion that fame is the key which opens doors that are already part of the mental architecture lends credence to the view that many entertainers are, to begin with, a few seats short of a sold-out house. Although Michael Barrymore's management and fans understandably want to blame media attention for his recent breakdown, it seems reasonably clear that he was a deeply disturbed and confused individual even when he was someone who just read the newspapers. His problems of identity long pre-date his problems of celebrity. If Michael Barrymore had become a bus-driver, he would, in all probability, still be sexually confused and have a drink problem: the only consolation would be that his agonies were the talk of only one workplace and one pub.

Barrymore's friend, the theatre critic Jack Tinker, said last week that "comedians make people laugh at them and, to do that, you have to hate yourself at some level": a more powerful expression of the old line about the clown who is sad behind the smile. Yet — as the lives and deaths of many comedians of the past have shown — comedy is precisely the wrong business for an insecure man, for it is the most precarious of the arts. A comedian knows more tangibly than any other performer whether their act has worked. A classical actor who began to bore audiences might easily remain unaware of the fact, but there is no ignoring the joke which meets a cold and echoing silence. Some would still insist, however, that fewer performers are destroyed than are destroyed by others, often with addresses in the London Docklands. Their view is that Barrymore and Coogan and others who seek help are — whatever the declared nature of their ailment — all really suffering from the Big C: celebrity. They have succumbed to the virus of fame with its standard complication of media attention. THE nature of performers and comedians has changed little in the history of entertainment, it is unarguable that the public circumstances of stars have altered vastly in recent years. Tony Hancock must have suffered as many demons as Michael Barrymore, but he was not, at that stage of the fame game, required to enact each private crisis in the media spotlight, to worry about reporters in the rhododendrons. Even so, it has to be noted that this discretion did nothing to do the help him. And, while Kevin Keegan's emotional outburst on television, when he angrily criticised the manager of Man-

chester United, was in part the fault of modern media structures — the increased likelihood of their being a microphone under the nose at times of high emotion — the manager's jumpiness resulted from the terrible expectations and pressures which have existed since the industrialisation of the entertainment industry of which football is a part. The case of Chris Evans is subject to conflicting interpretations. Some have taken his new on-air belligerence and rubbing of others in the public eye as evidence that a once engaging and endearingly trivial broadcaster has, after huge and sudden success, become a monster of egotism. Evans certainly does seem to have become unhealthily obsessed with celebrity, so that much of his material on both radio and television is now a commentary on his own superstardom and the relative success and talent of his peers. Yet he can also be seen as an example of how high renown inflates rather than creates certain personality traits, exaggerating confusions and dependencies that were already there. It is likely that his eminence has meant that he is less and less subject to the control of producers and broadcasters. So, in other cases discussed above, his popularity has given him the opportunity to behave badly. In this respect, Glen Hoddie represents a fascinating experiment in the effects of modern celebrity. Glen Hoddie, a former England international, is, at the time of his appointment, a notably level-headed individual, a devout Christian and uxorious husband. Should we read in four years time that he is checking in to a sex addiction clinic — having been found chanting "God is dead" in a hotel room while six prostitutes tug at the elastic of his football shorts — then we will know that fame destroys. But, for the moment, the money remains on self-destruction.

Contracts that show no Mersey



Paul Foot

I ENJOYED my best May Day yet last week, marching with the locked-out Liverpool dockers. The streets were full of thousands of people who flocked with their banners to support the dockers' selfless stand. The dispute was started seven months ago when some typical bullying from a contractor's manager provoked a strike and a picket line. The older directly-employed men refused to cross the line, and were promptly sacked. What is at stake? Liverpool is the last of the big ports to retain a semblance of decent and guaranteed working conditions. All the rest have been "casualised". A shop steward shows me a "contract of employment" offered to a docker (now known as a "cargo ass") by the Port of Tilbury Operating Services last year. "Employment will be on a seasonal basis and will terminate at the end of each session... regular work is not guaranteed... There will be no basic salary... The appointment confers no entitlement to annual leave, nor to paid sick leave... You will not be eligible for membership of the company's pension fund".

The steward and his colleagues believe the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, whose shareholders include the Government, are using the dispute to break the union and introduce a similar contract of employment in Liverpool. Such a contract is shocking enough in itself. When compared to the relatively civilised dock labour scheme introduced nearly 50 years ago and to the fortunes amassed by directors (especially at Tilbury) when the scheme was abolished, it is an abominable example of the exploitation that passes for employment in modern Tory Britain. A spokesman from the Liverpool port users' committee tells a local radio station on May Day that the marchers were damaging the reputation of Liverpool employees. What would they prefer — a docile, cap-doffing bunch of serfs who will cheerfully work themselves beyond endurance for the privilege of making millionsaires on the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board?

IS THERE any point in ranting on like this in The Guardian? Yes. When I last wrote about this dispute, I was contacted by Patrick Smyth, who wanted to contact the dockers' committee and its supporters from Women of the Water-

front. On the May Day march, I heard that Mr Smyth, who was born in Ireland and has worked for the last 20 years as an investment adviser in Poland, invited 100 parents and children from the locked-out Liverpool workforce to a Polish resort for a fortnight's holiday, all expenses paid. When I rang Patrick Smyth in Poland, last Friday, he told me that he'd asked both sides to argue their case. The response from the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, he said, was "absolutely disgraceful". He railed against "this disgusting Thatcherite mentality that has ruined Britain". The Liverpool dispute, he said, reminded him of the 1913 lock-out of Dublin dockers led by one of his heroes, James Larkin. He told me he was advising six Polish exporters about large export orders to Britain. "Mersey would be the ideal port for us to go through," he said, "but I've made it clear that not a single ton will go there unless this dispute is settled to the advantage of the dockers".

I WAS delighted that Rupert Allason, Tory MP for Torbay and perennial libel litigant, lost his action against Alastair Campbell and others. I've been worried about Allason ever since, in the House of Commons, he denounced a proposed television programme for attacking a former intelligence officer who was dead, and then had to admit that the "dead" man was very much alive. His 1987 book, Molehunt, set out to prove that the alleged Russian spy in MI5 was not its chief, Roger Hollis (the favourite suspect of far-right MI5 loons like Peter Wright), but his deputy, Graham Mitchell, a former senior official of Conservative Central Office. It struck me as an hilarious parody of spy-writers' fantasies, though I'm not sure it was meant to be.

The rightwing Allason had as his chief witness the leftwing Labour MP for Hillhead, George Galloway. They were complaining about the authenticity of a Commons early day motion. Mark who speaks! When Campbell walked out in disgust from his post as political editor at the Daily Mirror in 1993, 170 Labour MPs signed an early day motion to protest. George Galloway quickly organised a counter-motion praising Campbell's replacement, David Seymour, for being, among other things, "an active trade unionist all his life". Eighteen Labour MPs signed this motion. When I wrote to them from the Mirror's NUJ committee pointing out that Seymour's membership of the union had long since lapsed, and that he and the Mirror management who'd appointed him were engaged in a brutal and eventually successful endeavour to smash the union (of which Campbell had always been a loyal member), nine of them removed their names.

After the instant analysis of the local elections, John Biffen takes the temperature in his local pub and tells his party just where it goes from here

No gloom at the inn

AT TIMES of political drama, I return to my home village of Llanyblodwel and listen to the wisdom spoken in the Horseshoe Inn. Against the background of the gentle Tanat River it all seems much calmer. So it has been this weekend as the drama of the local election results settled into context. It has not been a political Armageddon and the removal vans are not yet outside Downing Street. There are three useful yardsticks for measuring government popularity. They are by-elections, local authority elections and opinion polls. By-elections are the most dramatic and, with the loss of seats, they can be politically potent as a government's majority disappears. On the other hand, they are an ephemeral judgment of localised opinion in special circumstances. At the last general election every Liberal by-election gain was reversed. Local authority election results are a better guide to current opinion, but still remain an uncertain pointer. The turn-out, usually less than 40 per cent, is often less than half a general election figure. Furthermore the "stay at home" — if they had voted — would not necessarily conform to the same pattern of voting. Yet the local vote is largely determined by national issues. It is my judgment that the most reliable test of political choice is the national opinion poll. The track record is good, although the 1992 election showed that even the pollsters could go astray. A particularly interesting aspect of last Thursday's vote was how the total local vote tallied with the current opinion polls. The Liberal share of the total vote has moved up. Labour's dominant lead has been maintained and the Tory share, at just above a quarter, has been confirmed. Although this is a miserable result for the Conservatives it is hardly startling. With nearly a year to go, there are opportunities for a reversal in political fortune and I suspect many Labour strategists would be happy with an election tomorrow. The Liberal vote is intriguing and a potential challenge for the Conservatives. It suggests that, despite modest national opinion ratings, the Liberals are concentrating powerful strength in the traditional Tory heartland. Brian Mawhinney has problems without Orpington man reappearing in Royal Tunbridge Wells.



ILLUSTRATION BY GEOFF GRANDFIELD

hopefully restricted to a scale that enables the parliamentary party to keep its sidearms in order to scumble over the leadership and Europe in 1997. It is against this background that Westminster proceeds through May to the dog days of July. Much folklore is attached to this period, passing legislation well into the night. There seems to be a chemistry of discontent that produces plots and coups, the most memorable being in July 1988 when Macmillan sacked a third of his cabinet, and I was artless enough to make my maiden speech in support of

the fallen Selwyn Lloyd. I predict that this July will bring its full range of schemes, threats, discounts and even a modest government reshuffle. All of this will be faithfully and imaginatively reported by the press, but the Prime Minister and the Government will survive. The cornerstone of Tory fortunes remains the Prime Minister. Any coup to remove him would be self-defeating. The sextet would blow up the plotter before the intended victim. The Tory majority is now so thin that a concerted change of leadership would bring about a further chain of defection initiated by Alan

Howarth and Peter Thurnham. Secondly, John Major has devoted himself to keeping the Conservative Party as a broad church. He has performed this task manfully and I know none who could do it better, although it is not a task that permits excellence. There have been great difficulties for him, not least on the European issue. Inevitably one is driven to query whether his words, on issues such as the single currency, reflect his own views or those that he thinks are best judged to maintain party unity. When Tory backbench frustration subsides, I believe that it will be judged that Major

provides the economic leadership and the European compromise that will command broadest support. He will lead the Tories, probably in 1997, to either a spectacular victory or honourable defeat. The European debate is the millions that weigh down the Tories. Should Labour gain office it too would discover that sharing power is an immensely painful business, particularly when decisions — such as the beef ban — had no sense of equity. Meanwhile Labour has been particularly skilled at avoiding the European challenge that would await them in office. Alas there is no such comfort for the Tories. Office brings them headlong into Brussels realities. The mass burning of cattle on spurious BSE hygiene grounds is not specifically provided for in the Maastricht Treaty but it is a practical example of how Europe "is not working".

THE ENTRY of Sir James Goldsmith into the electoral ring has, predictably, stirred emotions. Dealing now picks up £250,000 annually from the NatWest bank. With this experience, he berates Goldsmith for using his wealth to promote political power. I can understand Hurd's argument, and am tempted to ask is this an Old Etonians' fight or can anyone join in? The truth is that the European debate will not subside. It is at the heart of our economic and constitutional traditions. It will proceed into the next parliament and with a vigour that challenges loyalties. Meanwhile Major's leadership is not threatened by it, and whilst Tory Euro-discord loses votes, it is easy to exaggerate the haemorrhage. The ingredient for Tory success is not a patched up job on Europe. It is for an economic recovery that is generally perceived. This elusive "feel good" factor has been subject to endless and conflicting comment. My instinct is that there has been a modest and intermittent recovery for at least two years or more. On the other hand, the recession has bitten so deeply that the consumer is now more cautious, and more inclined to save. That places the Chancellor in that he can fund more easily the enormous government borrowing that now sustains public expenditure. More recently there have been signs that rising income is leading to greater spending. The Heseltine thesis is that this will lead to political recovery. It is plausible but it is also very late. It is just possible that the public, whatever the pay packet, would not be averse to a switch after 18 years of Tory government — provided the change was to a party that has been dry cleaned of its long-standing socialism. And this is precisely what the Tory radical Euro-sceptics fear.

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10 OBITUARIES

David Ifshin

Zealot's road to Washington

THE EULOGIES in Washington last week at the funeral of David Ifshin, who died of cancer at the age of 47, were delivered by President Bill Clinton and the conservative Republican Senator John McCain of Arizona. Clinton's presence was to be expected, as an old friend and political ally. Ifshin had known Clinton since they worked on the McGovern presidential campaign in 1972. General counsel to Clinton's 1982 election campaign, he served in a similar post for the Mondale presidential campaign in 1984.

He returned to the US, went to law school and began working for the pro-Israel and hawkish Democratic Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson, for the American Jewish Committee and for the Anti-Defamation League. He also became one of the country's leading experts on electoral law, developing a mastery over the arcane and different regulations for getting on the ballot in all the states which became essential for the Mondale and Clinton campaigns.

BY THE TIME of the Clinton campaign, Ifshin was one of the most important figures connecting American Jewish organisations to the Democratic Party. Since 1965 he had been general counsel and a director of the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee, by far the most influential arm of the pro-Israel lobby. He was also on the board of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, which sought to steer the party back to the electoral centre.



Moment of triumph... for soon-to-be President Clinton — but eclipse for Ifshin, the man who helped get him there

Some on the party's left had never quite forgiven Ifshin for his renunciation of the anti-war movement. The issue remains deeply divisive for many of the Vietnam movement veterans who have risen to prominence with the Clinton administration. Prime among them was Harold Ickes, now deputy chief of staff of the White House, who in 1982 was running Clinton's campaign in the New York primary election, a crucial hurdle on the way to securing the Democratic nomination. Clinton was a battered candidate, bruised by scandal, and the complex ethnic stew of New York was proving resistant to his political appeal.

Al Qing

Dilemma of a poet in adversity

AI QING, respected poet in the new socialist China, who has died in Beijing at the age of 66, was sent to Chile in 1954 to celebrate Pablo Neruda's birthday. Entranced by Neruda's quirky style of life, he wrote a poem praising not the man's spirit of revolutionary commitment but his "fascinating house" on the Pacific shore.



Al Qing... poetic injustice

White-water affair, during the primary campaigns. He told the Clintons to come "totally clean" and release all the documents in their possession. "If you don't level with them," he warned with telling foresight, "you'll end up with a special prosecutor."

He was sent off to labour camps, where he remained until 1975, believed by many to be dead. He was only able to publish again in 1978 after Mao had died. Poets may be unacknowledged legislators but they are not very good at politics. Ai's generation of the 1930s and 1940s had the misfortune to be swept along not just by the revolution — which they supported — but into the storms and whirlpools of literary politics.

Like countless other young Chinese "intellectuals", Ai regarded Mao's peasant-based revolution as the rain from heaven which would bring to life China's dead land. Ai had studied poetry and art in France, where he was much influenced by Apollinaire, Baudelaire and Rimbaud. When he returned to Shanghai in 1930, he was jailed for three years by the French Concession police.

grown intellectuals. Though supporting the Communist Party, the latter reflected the free-thinking independent spirit of China's first (and genuine) Cultural Revolution, launched in May 1919 after the failure of the first revolution.

They produced *zu wen* (satirical essays) calling for autonomy of thought. A writer, Ai wrote, "is not a Monopolist lark, nor a singer who sings only to please others". But in the struggle between conscience and commitment, Ai sided in the end with the party against Wang, whose most famous *zu wen*, fatally for him, had denounced the acquisition of privileges by "party big-shots".

Wang was sent to work in a matchbox factory and soon became mentally disturbed. He was executed in 1947 when the communist army beat a temporary retreat from Yanan in the civil war with Chiang Kai-shek.

IN A harsh spirit it could be judged truly poetic justice that in 1967 Ai was this time on the losing side, denounced by his contemporary Feng Zhi for "formalism, individualism and standing against the party". Ai was attacked with particular ferocity for his views on poetic responsibility: *Give everything its character, give everything its life, he had written. What did he dare to usurp the role of the party? Was this not capitalistic subjective idealism?*

While he was lost in the labour camps, Ai's poems were discovered by dissident Red Guards when they ransacked libraries during the Cultural Revolution. His Whitmanesque free verse influenced this new generation of young poets who later surfaced in the democracy movement of the 1980s.

After being "returned" to society, Ai was given a comfortable apartment, made vice-chairman of the Chinese Writers Association and hailed for his "outstanding contribution". Ai once wrote that "the poet never opposes the beliefs of the people". But he added, the people "keep believing in the god that he (the poet) creates for them".

The dilemma for Ai, and all those poets who joined the revolution, was that China's gods were already prescribed. John Gittings

AI Qing, poet, born February 17, 1910; died May 5, 1996

Tim Gullikson

Double ace partner

TIM GULLIKSON, the effervescent tennis coach who helped transform Pete Sampras from an introverted prodigy into one of the world's greatest tennis champions, has died, aged 44, from brain cancer.

His alliance with Sampras, the number one ranked male player in the world and the defending champion of Wimbledon and the US Open, was the culmination of a career that began in relative obscurity and saw Gullikson supporting himself in his quest to become a pro-player by giving tennis lessons wherever he could find takers.

Born in 1951 in La Crosse, Wisconsin, just minutes after his identical twin brother, Tim had a tennis partner from an early age. The brothers were close on and off the court, playing doubles together for as long as they could remember. The uninitiated could not distinguish between the two, even though Tom is left-handed and Tim was right-handed.

Both graduated from Northern Illinois University, with Tim getting a degree in physical education. As professionals, the two won 10 doubles titles together and were 1983 finalists at Wimbledon. The Gulliksons were also a top team on senior circuits until last year. Tim, considered the better singles player, was the pro circuit's newcomer of the year in 1977 and in 1979 he reached Wimbledon's quarter finals.

ranked sixth in the world and had not been able to duplicate his 1990 US Open championship when he took on Gullikson as his full-time coach in 1992. He had intended to hire Tom Gullikson but Tom was unable to co-ordinate that job with his captaincy of the Davis Cup and Olympic teams and so Sampras settled on Tim. Sampras represented a dream student for Gullikson, who is credited with providing the American with the passion for competition and the knack for strategic playmaking necessary for him to make the leap to the top. A year after hiring Tim, Sampras, then 21, attained the number one ranking for the first time. He won the first of his three consecutive Wimbledon titles in July 1993. In all, he captured six Grand Slam tournaments after joining Gullikson.

"Coaching Pete is like being a basketball coach and getting a fantastic pure shooter... the trick is to teach the guy when he should take the three-point shot and when he shouldn't," said Gullikson, who taught Sampras stroke strategy but did not tinker with his inimitable serve. Despite suffering from a series of strokes the year before, Gullikson accompanied Sampras to Australia in January 1995 to help him defend his Grand Slam title but collapsed during a practice session. From then on, he coached Gullikson by telephone, while leaving the day-to-day training to Paul Anacone, a former pro and Gullikson's friend.

Gullikson is survived by his wife, a son, 13, and a daughter, nine. Robin Finn



Tim Gullikson... net assets as a singles and doubles player and as a coach

Appreciation: Lord Houghton of Sowerby

Beryl Brughart writes: Douglas Houghton (obituary, May 3) was the most unassuming and caring of men. Before he became chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party and served in the Wilson governments, I owed much to Douglas's expertise in national insurance and industrial injuries legislation during his years as chairman of the party's national insurance group. I was the "green" committee clerk to that group and Douglas gave patient hours to tutoring me to an understanding of what appeared to be unjust and arbitrary cut-offs for widows' benefits and inexplicable differences between the rates paid to workmen compensated under old workmen's compensation legislation and the Atlee government's industrial injuries scheme — the latter inequity

being largely eliminated by a subsequent Wilson government. Had he been the responsible Secretary of State in the 1964 and 1966 Labour governments, a firm and sustainable foundation would have been built for the growth of the contributory benefits system, and it is possible that he would have attempted to persuade Treasury colleagues to end means-tested benefits for most people by introducing an "income tax in Reverse scheme" — everyone completing a return and paying tax or receiving top-up benefits in accordance with circumstances and need. Despite a period in hospital, a hip replacement when he was well into his nineties and a nasty accident in the House of Lords last summer, he kept abreast of the political scene,

accepting many new Labour ideas while having some reservations about "New Labour". The animal lobby will greatly miss Douglas's enduring and active concern for animal welfare, an interest which he pursued very actively until the last in the Upper House. Madeleine Simms writes: The greatest of Douglas Houghton's many achievements in the minds of many of us will be the impetus he gave to the passing of the 1967 Abortion Act, the most important measure affecting the health and welfare of women since the passing of the National Health Service legislation. He was actively associated with this cause from the time he entered Parliament in 1949 and in 1982 he was one of only 23 parliamentary support-

ers of Joseph Rees, who unsuccessfully introduced the first bill on this subject to much abuse from the religious fundamentalist lobby. In 1969 he gave active support to Kenneth Robinson, who tried to introduce a similar bill which was also talked out by a group of Roman Catholic MPs. During this time, his wife Vera was chairman of the Abortion Law Reform Association and together they made a remarkable and tireless team which earned the admiration of Lord Silkin and Sir David Steel and all who were subsequently associated with this then unfashionable cause. Lord Houghton's life and work on behalf of women over half a century shows how very much more important it is to have feminists in Parliament, rather than just women.

Jackdaw



Idealist's death

Twenty-four years ago, George McGovern stood as a presidential candidate. In a new book, Terry: My Daughter's Life And Death Struggle With Alcoholism, he talks about what a life in politics can do to a family. This is from a conversation he had with Mark Marcol of Interview.

MM: I know this is a very personal question, but what was it like when you heard the news of Terry's death. GM: I can hardly describe that moment. I knew that alcoholism had taken a terrible toll on her life but it never occurred to me she'd die from

it. So when the policeman and clergyman came to my door just before midnight on December 13, 1994, and told me that my daughter had frozen to death in a snowbank while intoxicated, it almost took the life out of me. I couldn't speak, I couldn't think, I couldn't cry. I literally just went numb. It was the saddest moment of my life.

Did the death of your daughter represent to you a kind of death of idealism? Well, Terry was an idealist. She was out on the campaign trail for me and for other causes that weren't exactly a majority view at the time. She always stood by her convictions, as have my other children. So in my mind, yes, I guess losing her has underscored the decline in idealism I've seen in recent years. I don't want to make too much of that parallel because, after all, Terry was only one young woman. But I do think there's a regrettable loss of some of the passion among young people today as compared with the 1960s. Maybe Terry's death means one more figure

has been taken from what I would describe as the ranks for idealism. I don't want to say that I think idealism has died as my daughter has died but I do think that compassion, hope and faith need to be nurtured. I never give up on people though, especially the young.

Harpies

Harpies and Queen is already sending out advance copies of its June edition, in which it names the 50 most alluring women in the world. Here are a few, plucked from the 50:

- (1) Audrey Hepburn epitomises the spirit of contradiction essential to allure: elegant but carefree, worldly yet innocent, sassy yet intelligent, warm but elusive, witty in public, melancholy in private — and, of course, supremely beautiful. (7) Any of the Mitford sisters. The life and soul of the republic: beauty, brains and English eccentricity. (9) Jessica Rabbit. "I'm not bad, I'm just drawn that way." (12) Helen of Troy.

(20) Barbara Amiel. The most influential woman in British journalism: sharp intelligence and magnificent *embonpoint*. (43) Candida McWilliam. "I nominate Candida for her sophisticated and cosmopolitan nature, and for knowing everyone there is to know on every continent" — Sir Phillip Dowson, President of the Royal Academy. (48) Anna Ford. (50) Marilyn Monroe. Sex appeal alone does not constitute allure, but her vulnerability and sense of fun make her more than a cliché.

Rudy's future

Rudy Rucker thinks about the future, as a mathematician, computer programmer and author of cyberpunk novels. Here he is being interviewed by 21C, a beautifully designed (and intelligent) magazine of "culture, technology and science". You've been talking for years about wanting to have your whole life preserved in some kind of hypertext

medium. Yeah, that's a prediction of mine that's coming true.

What do you think about the (Carnegie-Mellon Robotics) Hans Moravec's notion of people actually uploading their consciousness into the Net? I'm into it, in a way. It's a complicated question and I've thought a lot about it for many years. It was sort of the idea in *Software* — that the robots were going to get this man's personality. You would first need a database. You would need to be interrogated over a long period of time. I think that some product might be available in about 10 years and it would follow you around, and it would ask you questions. It would generate this hypertext file. It might be called a Life-box. You'd give it to your grandchildren and they can say, "Did you ever play baseball, Grandpa?" and it would tell them. And they could say, "Tell me more" and so on. It will be a hypertext memoir. If it's done well enough you can actually talk to the person. Of course, just because you write

your memoir, the book isn't you. You're dead. The question is, how good would the simulation have to be for you to feel like it was you?

Foxy ethics

Hunting magazine does not chase after foxes. Here is a little lecture on sentiment from the magazine's leader columns:

The BBC is reported to have signed a deal, involving also the RSPCA, by which models of sick or injured animals, such as figure in the tele-



21C... future features

vision programme Animal Hospital, will become available as toys. Some will be miniature, made of plastic and given away free in breakfast food packets. Others, big and furry, will be sold in toyshops, complete with curable and repeatable injuries, implying automatic remedy.

The latter version will be made with areas which, when an ice pack is applied, will stimulate bruises or wounds in appropriate colours. The symptoms can be dispersed with stroking, or by massage with a warm towel. Mr Anthony Baumann, head of marketing for the RSPCA, is quoted as saying: "It's a nice idea. It may go like a bomb. I know it will sound rather naïf but it will raise tens of thousands of pounds for us."

So that is one side of the big idea. There are other aspects, less insouciantly disposable. Another step has been taken in spreading the crassly misleading ideas that animals are models, not creatures, and that if injured they can always be "mended" without suffering pain or stress in the process. These are matters which

should be considered separately from image-creation, fund-raising, or the requirements of the entertainment industry. Where is the RSPCA going?

The prevention of cruelty to animals and the separate but related issue of the prevention of suffering by animals are not best advanced by presenting animals as mechanical toys. Anybody actively concerned in the care of animals throughout their lives, and not merely when young or sick, knows very well that this is emphatically not the attitude which should be encouraged in children. Instead they should be taught that children have feelings which are not the same as ours but are nonetheless real, and that merciful treatment of them involves this reality and its implications.

Jackdaw wants jewels. E-mail jackdaw@guardian.co.uk, fax 0171-713 4366, or write to Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Desmond Christy

Handwritten signature or scribble at the bottom of the page.

Coming clean on taxation will pay dividends

Labour must tell voters that the City, not wage-earners, will provide funds to get Britain working, Ken Livingstone argues

WHILE the Tory spin doctors continue to pore over last week's cull of Tory councillors in the hope of finding something on which they can build a rosy scenario, the expectations inside the Labour leader's office is still that the next election will be extremely tight.

Labour's internal polls confirm public reports that a substantial number of voters still identify with the Tory party, even though they are not voting for it. If these voters revert to their traditional loyalty it will reduce Labour's lead to a mere 2-3 per cent.

It is also clear from the latest NOP poll how those voters could be swung back to the Tories. NOP concentrated on tax, and the figures revealed our weak underbelly. Only 13 per cent of voters believe the official Labour line that we will 'cut taxes as the economy improves'. Thirty-two per cent believe a Labour government will raise taxes only on the well-off (48 per cent defined well-off as £50,000-plus income). This would be morally and politically right; it would bring in more than £3 billion and I hope it is what Gordon Brown does.

But the real danger for Labour is the 41 per cent of voters who think Labour will put up everyone's taxes. This figure should set the alarm bells ringing in Labour's superficial and expensive Millbank Media Centre. Since the debacle of John Smith's shadow budget at the last general election, the Labour leadership has treated tax policy as gingerly as if it were Semtex. Our refusal to say what changes we will make to income tax has helped to create a climate of suspicion in which 41 per cent of voters fear they are going to be clobbered.

SURELY it is best to say now that high earners will pay more. If only to reassure the others. The truth is that even if Blair and Brown can be persuaded to increase taxes at the £50,000 point, the £3 billion this brings in is still only the small change of government revenues. To rebuild our welfare state and drag British investment up to European levels we need figures 10 times that. There is no way money of this order can come from income tax increases.

How to stop the relative decline of the British economy has been the main discussion point of British politics for nearly a century. We used to be told it was strong trade unions and lazy British workers that were the problem but now British workers are paid less and work longer, and their trade unions have fewer



Opening way to quality street



Larry Elliott

WE REALLY are an ungrateful lot. Here we are in the fifth year of economic recovery, living in a golden age of low inflation, and still we don't vote Conservative.

Listening to Tory spin doctors last week, you might have thought securing 28 per cent of last week's local election poll was a spectacular triumph — the launch pad, no less, for a fifth general election victory next year.

Unfortunately for ministers, the traditional links between economic performance and government popularity have broken down. Psephologists are also baffled, because their charts are based on a correlation between consumer confidence, real incomes and unemployment on the one hand, and voting patterns on the other.

The debate about feel-good factors etc is a barren exercise. We need to look deeper to explain the mood of disenchantment, not just with the Government but with politics *per se*. To that extent, Brian MacInnes was right that

there is no great enthusiasm out there for New Labour. How could there be when so much of it is Old Tory?

The starting point should be a rethink of how we measure success and progress. It's all very well saying that rising car ownership means we are all better off, but the economic benefit of being a two-car family could be vitiated by increased asthma attacks or sitting in four-hour traffic jams on the M25.

An attempt to capture these so-called "externalities" in a measure that extends beyond gross domestic product has been compiled by the New Economics Foundation. Britain's leading force in green economics. As the graph shows, gross domestic product per head rose steadily from 1950 to 1990, more than doubling in 40 years. This was true whichever party was in power.

However, the bottom line shows what happens if you allow for factors not picked up by the GDP per-head measure. The NEF, in collaboration with the Stockholm Environment Institute, uses their charts are based on a correlation between consumer confidence, real incomes and unemployment on the one hand, and voting patterns on the other.

So, spending on clearing up the beaches in Pembrokeshire after the Sea Empress ran aground would be taken out, as would the sharp rise in money spent on tackling the ten-fold increase in crime since 1980. Longer-term cost

estimates of environmental damage and the depreciation of natural capital are accounted for, as is growing income inequality since 1979. The latter reflects the fact that a pound in the pocket means more to the poor than it does to the rich.

On the plus side, a monetary value is given to the per formation of human capital, through education and training, and to the non-monetised benefits to the economy from housework.

The result is an Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare, which indicates that the qual-

ity of our lives is actually no better than it was in 1950. The profile suggests that the ISEW rose until the oil shock of the early 1970s, but has since declined as crime, pollution and inequality have increased.

Naturally, the ISEW methodology is open to debate. Government statisticians have always had problems in putting a monetary value on housework, it is difficult to assess exactly how rising inequality should be measured, and there is a large element of subjectivity in figures for long-term environmental degradation.

But even with these caveats, the ISEW approach has merit. It is not just that the Office for National Statistics has begun to incorporate the green agenda into the published economic data; but a gloomier view of "progress" since 1950 seems to accord with the downbeat public mood across

the decommissioning of the Brent Spar.

The NEF believes that these "externalities" — ignored by the free-market approach to economics — are now coming home to roost, adding that the divergence between personal income and quality of life "casts doubt on the primary goal of conventional politics".

The right has no real answer to these developments. Its answer to rising crime is to hang up more criminals and install surveillance cameras, rather than to look at the impact of inequality and deprivation. On transport, it is undecided whether to turn the M25 into a 13-lane traffic jam or force Tesco and Sainsbury back into the high street.

For the past 20 years, the right has made much of the fact that it, not the left, has carried the radical banner. The difficulty now is that the concept of permanent revolution — manifested in downsizing, globalisation, unfettered movement of capitalism — has become inimical to voters searching for reassurance. A truly conservative party — conserving jobs, habitats and local communities — must emerge over the next 10 or 15 years to counter the economic determinism of the right.

But the left, too, has been struggling to come up with an answer to the twin perils of the modern world — job insecurity and the threat to the global environment. For all the talk of a red-green alliance, the response to 20 years of *laissez-faire* hegemony has either been a timid "me too-

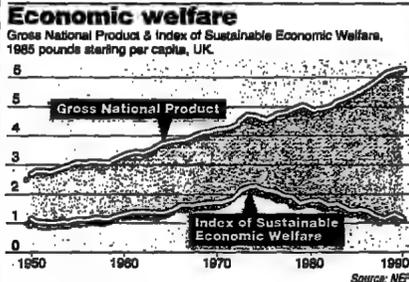
ism" or an attempt to cling on to the security blanket of crude Keynesianism.

A different route is mapped out in the latest edition of *New Left Review* by Jan Otto Anderson, leader of a new left party in Finland. His thesis divides the history of the left into three phases. The first dated from the late 18th century, inspired by the idea of free citizens who could harness market forces to challenge the domination of absolutist monarchs.

By contrast, the second was proletarian, looking for collective solutions to problems through state planning or welfare. The market was no longer a friend but an implacable enemy. As Mr Anderson put it: "The first left believed that free markets could be just and efficient; the second was convinced of their inhuman weakness and unfairness."

At the moment, parties of the left seem more in tune with the philosophy of the first left than that of the second. Mr Anderson's point is that there is now a need for a third left, synthesising the idea of "real freedom for all" from the Enlightenment with the solidarity of the second left; then adding a new ingredient, sustainable development.

This would represent a fundamental reshaping of politics, replacing the state-versus-market conflict of the 20th century with a clash between *laissez-faire* and environmentalism. At the moment, the West does not appear ready for so radical an idea. But, sooner or later, it will be.



Crunch approaches for cash-strapped Mandela

BRIEFING/ Sarah Ryle reports on the need for foreign investors to rethink their attitude to South Africa

TWO years after Nelson Mandela was elected to lead South Africa's full return to the international community, the country is still suffering from under-investment by foreigners.

While apartheid was in full swing, they were begged to withhold their goods and currency by equal rights campaigners. Now these same campaigners are drumming up support for South African trade and foreign investment in infrastructure.

The wall they hit is built of distrust of the South African economy. The recent fall of the rand, which has lost 18 per cent of its value against the dollar since mid-February, is a measure of international wariness. The latest threat to stability is the row over the new constitution.

If consensus is not reached by Wednesday, there could be a national referendum. So organisations such as Actis for Southern Africa (Actisa),

successor to the anti-apartheid movement, have their work cut out persuading foreigners they should rethink their approach on trade and investment.

There is evidence that South Africa is pursuing a successful economic policy. According to South African Reserve Bank figures, there was 3.3 per cent GDP growth in 1995 and analysts now forecast 4 per cent growth for 1996, supported by the International Monetary Fund's World Economic Outlook.

Inflation, high at 7 per cent, is still the lowest since the early 1970s. New investment in manufacturing rose 21 per cent last year, and the IMF predicted strong

growth in the sector will continue. The budget deficit was 8.5 per cent in 1993 and is expected to fall to 6.1 per cent in 1996-1997.

The African National Congress government has instigated a Reconstruction and Development Programme that has primary health projects as a top priority. But most resources so far have had to come from the reduction of government spending in other areas, according to Actisa.

The government is also drawing up a national strategy that aims to boost real GDP to 6 per cent and create up to half a million more jobs by the year 2000.

But this goal is based on achieving a 10 per cent increase in non-gold exports a year and "substantial private and public investment", according to deputy president Thabo Mbeki.

With domestic growth comes a stronger demand for imports, so the threat to the balance of payments is not just from weak exports. The international approach is exemplified by the European Union, which buys nearly half of South Africa's exports but offers worse trade terms than most other countries outside the western world, according to Actisa.

Current negotiations involve the EU banning some products from any trade agreement. Forty per cent of agricultural produce, the sector

likely to generate jobs most quickly, was not even up for negotiation.

Actisa has calculated that South Africa could attract \$2.4 billion (£1.6 billion) of foreign direct investment if it continued to show sustainable growth. But the most serious constraint could be a weak balance of payments, damaged by poor export performance.

Access to world markets for exports has become crucial to the health and education projects needed to better the lot of the majority of South Africans.

Indicators

TODAY — UK: Bank holiday. JP: Holiday. GER: Unemployment (Apr). GER: Manufacturing orders (in weeks, Mar). GER: Current account (in weeks, Feb). GER: Visible trade (Feb). **WEDNESDAY** — UK: Chancellor/Governor meeting. **US:** Beige Book. **THURSDAY** — UK: Industrial production (Mar). UK: Manufacturing production (Mar). JP: Current account (Mar). **FRIDAY** — UK: CBI Survey of Distributive Trades. US: Producer prices (Apr). *Source: HNBG Markets Research.*

Tourist rates — bank sells

Australia 1.8250	France 7.4950	Italy 2.305	Singapore 2.06
Austria 15.65	Germany 2.2250	Malta 0.8350	S Africa 5.38
Belgium 45.70	Greece 357.00	Netherlands 2.46	Spain 185.25
Canada 1.9950	H Kong 11.41	N Zealand 2.1250	Sweden 10.14
Cyprus 0.6890	India 51.87	Norway 9.82	Switzerland 1.80
Denmark 6.82	Ireland 0.5375	Portugal 230.00	Turkey 107.541
Finland 7.16	Israel 4.81	Saudi Arabia 5.60	US 1.4650

Supplied by real West Bank (excluding Indian rupee and Israeli sheqel) as at close of business on Friday

CATHAY PACIFIC

MORE FLIGHT ATTENDANTS IN BUSINESS CLASS

SOCCER: THE CRUELLEST WEEKEND



Familiar picture... Keegan, head in hands, and the supporters know the title has slipped away PHOTOGRAPH: MIKE SCOTT

Premiership: Newcastle United 1, Tottenham Hotspur 1

Daring and dash die with the dream of all Geordies

Martin Thorpe
AND so St James' Park finally became the Theatre of Nightmares. The title dream went the way of the 12-point lead, lost in frustration and disbelief that could not be assuaged by Newcastle United's best finish for 69 years.
But, though there was no championship for Kevin Keegan, there were many things to celebrate — passion and principles, daring and dash, the corinthian ideals that drove this mega-rich team all season. After they had swallowed their disappointment the home supporters gave the manager a standing ovation that offered understanding and forgiveness.
During March and April the hands of the Geordie faithful had cradled unbelieving heads as Newcastle's lead disappeared like gold dust blown away on the wind. Now the fans waved and clapped for Keegan and his team, eager to forget the past and look forward to another try next season.
Of course they would rather have been celebrating the title, but the plot failed to contain the one glorious final twist that would have let the "goodies" beat the "baddies". For all Newcastle's best intentions during the past eight months, they were not good enough in the end.
It may have been the purchase of Asprilla that changed things or it may have been Newcastle's difficulty in handling the huge championship pressure. But it was a glorious failure, born of a Utopian aim. Everybody would love to see the Premiership won by a team as attractive as Newcastle, just as everybody would love to see the world full of happiness. But reality suggests that both are remarkably difficult to achieve.
However, Keegan vowed there would be more of the same next season. "We will be playing the same way," he said, "scoring goals and letting them in, taking the plaudits and the criticism."
Which is a gracious remark that he was about to quit. "Absolute garbage," he said. "I'll be here."
After the animosity of the past week between himself and Alex Ferguson the Newcastle manager showed himself a gracious loser. "Everyone talks about our collapse but they don't really do credit to Manchester United. They turned round what looked like an impossible situation. They will be great representatives for this country in Europe. We are still trying to

build a team as good as them, and we are very close."
He added that with the benefit of hindsight "I might have changed some things", but he pleaded with everyone not to blame Asprilla for the collapse. He had done well, said his manager, as had Betty, another late signing. There would be more arrivals in the summer, he promised, although the money was drying up.
Perhaps Newcastle's most useful addition will be the experience gained this season. On January 20 they led the table by 12 points. When Asprilla made his debut in February the lead was down to nine points. By March 12 it was four, a week later one and then the teams were level before Manchester United, for the first time, disposed Newcastle at the top on March 24.
Yesterday the slim hope that their rivals would lose 96 miles down the road at Middlesbrough looked even slimmer after 14 minutes when Manchester United took the lead. Not even a Newcastle win could salvage the title if Ferguson's side pulled off a victory.
But Beardsley and company tried. Walker had to save brilliantly from Betty while Lee and Ferdinand, twice, went close. Gillespie missed a sitter and then it was over. Cole, of

all people, put Manchester United 2-0 up at the Riverside and 26 seconds later, at St James' Park, Dozzell's clever turn-and-sift put Newcastle behind.
Newcastle's want for the win, Ginola hitting the bar and then shooting wide before Asprilla, a 67th-minute substitute, showed why Keegan had bought him with a marvellous piece of skill which brought the equaliser.
Picking up the ball on the left edge of the box he twisted and turned to beat the keeper, cross which Ferdinand put away for his 23rd goal of the season.
Clark then hit the bar and Ferdinand scored a great save from Walker. But a win did not come and, with Manchester United winning, it did not matter.
Tottenham had played well but had failed too, missing out on the UEFA Cup place which went to their neighbours Arsenal. Their disappointment, however, was nothing compared to that felt by Newcastle United.
Newcastle United: Watson, Elliott, Peacock, Albert, Gillespie (Clark), Barry, Lee, Smith, Beardsley, Taylor, G. Ferdinand.
Tottenham Hotspur: Walker, Edinburgh, Wilson, Maitland, Campbell (Caldwell), D. Hoyle, H. Winstanley, G. H. Anderson, Dozzell, Sheringham, Anderson.
Referee: D. Gilligan (Barnley).

Survivals and disasters

Premiership: Manchester City 2, Liverpool 2

Late draw fails to save City from the big drop

Ian Ross
ALAN BALL's much-vaunted three-year plan to rejuvenate Manchester City will now embrace at least one season in the backwaters of the First Division. At the very moment that their neighbours from Old Trafford were clinching the Premiership title, poor City were surrendering their place among the elite for the third time in 13 years.
City, in the top division since 1989, are not the first great club to leave it, but bad habits can be hard to break. To go down on inferior goal difference is cruel, yet City have performed with remarkably consistent ineptitude since August.
Liverpool looked relaxed. Their interest in the league ended last month with an improbable defeat by Coventry City, and an FA Cup final beckons. Even so they sided

through City's defence like a wire through cheese and might easily have won the game by half-time.
City's defence held out for all of six minutes and the first wound it suffered was self-inflicted. McManaman's run left the City defence wide open and, when the cross whistled across goal, Steve Lomas could only deflect the ball into his own net.
Uwe Rösler occasionally threatened to keep City's fast-fading dream alive but it took Ian Rush, making his last Premiership appearance for Liverpool, to remind all present that there is no real substitute for class.
His drive from distance four minutes before half-time may have clipped Curie's boot on its way under the crossbar and into the right-hand corner but it was still an inspired piece of improvisation.
Liverpool's lethargy was such that a City fight-back was always a possibility but it

came too late. In the 71st minute Ruddock up-ended Kinkladze and Rösler scored from the penalty spot. Seven minutes later a smart Kit Symons equaliser offered a glimmer of hope — false hope, as it transpired. Coventry and Southampton held out and City were down.
"Alan Ball's job will not be affected. By nature he is a winner," wrote the chairman Francis Lee in programme notes under the unfortunate headline, We'll Win the Fight.
"This is the greatest disappointment of my career," Ball said. "We have paid dearly for our start to the campaign when we picked up only two points from 11 games. I believe that with hard work we can bounce back."
Manchester City (Innet): Dunsterville, Symons, Curie, Brown, Brightwell, Kinkladze, Clough (Kovatchevski), Owen, Lomas, Foster, Glenn Phillips, St. Liverpool: James, McManam, Babo, Wright, Ruddock, Jones, Thomas, Redknapp (Kennedy, 45), McManaman, Fowler, Rush.
Referee: S. Lodge (Barnley).

W Ham 1, Sheff W 1

Waiting game for Pleat

Neil Robinson
WEDNESDAY may be safe but what of David Pleat? If whispers from Hillsborough are to be believed, the manager will have to wait several weeks before he too can breathe easy. Last season his predecessor, Trevor Francis, was sacked soon after overseeing a similar last-day escape.
Thirteen years ago Pleat had danced across the pitch and jumped into the arms of his Luton players after they, too, avoided the drop; yesterday he offered a quick handshake to his opposite number Harry Redknapp and disappeared under the tunnel.
"it is perfectly all right," he said when asked about his position, "but unless certain things happen now we will continue to float around 15th position." For a while yesterday it looked as if Wednesday might sink much lower. As they trailed to a Dicks header, news of Manchester City's equaliser shot round Upton Park like electricity, short-circuiting Wednesday's supporters.
They were back on their feet, however, even before Newsome headed home Whittingham's injury-time cross because a thousand radios had conveyed the news that Coventry's draw meant Wednesday were safe.
Whether a side that takes 15 points from their final 15 deserves to be another matter. Wednesday bristled with defensive uncertainty and, Blinker apart, lacked pace but the keeper saved the day and in doing so saved Coventry's season.
Coventry City: Ogrizovic, Pickering, Shaw, Dashi, Burrows, Hall, Taylor, Jones, Soligo, Dublin, Whelan.
W Ham: Williams, Luskic, Kelly, Palmer, Whelan, Redge, Worthington, Thacker, McManister, Wallace, Gray (Gouzen, 70), Nisic, Dugrye.
Referee: R. Dillane (Mansfield).

Southampton 0, Wimbledon 0

Saints preserved with little grace

Paul Weaver
THERE are few emotions more exhilarating than the relief from fear and, when it was announced at half-time that Liverpool were beating Manchester City 2-0, euphoria swept The Dell and suddenly no one noticed the chill Hampshire air.
A few minutes into the second half the chant began about their former manager Alan Ball: "You're short, you're fat and you're going to get the sack."
The subsequent intelligence that Manchester City had levelled at Maine Road took some time to seep through the red-and-white striped crowd. At that point another goal for City, or one for Wimbledon, would have put Southampton down.
There was a brief panic before the final whistle, then the other results came through and the chanting started once more: "Let's all laugh at Bally." The team's lap of honour for escaping relegation on goal difference was overdoing it a little.
This was a poor match but that was hardly surprising.

Wimbledon manager Joe Kinnear revealed the touch-line pressure. "It was bedlam in the dug-outs," he said. "When Liverpool were winning I heard shouts of 'Stay back, stay back' and when Manchester City equalised it was 'Push up, push up.'"
Southampton finished fourth from bottom and their status in the top division, unbroken since 1973, continues. Afterwards Matthew Le Tissier confirmed that he would be staying with the club. "The tension got to us a bit today," he added.
There was no sign of the Southampton manager Dave Merrington after the match and it was explained he had gone to see his wife Pauline, who was admitted to hospital on Saturday for tests.
But Saints' director of football Lawrie McMenemy said: "I feel a bit sorry for Bally. Finishing fourth from bottom presents success for us. It will be the same struggle next season unless we get a benefactor."
Southampton: Bassett, Neilson, Monaghan, Hall, Small, Doo, Le Tissier, Magilton, Jenkins, Shipley, Henry.
Whittingham: Sullivan, Perry, Cunningham, Kimble, Reeves, Leach, Hadden (Goodman, 65), Jones, Davis, Elliott, Holtworth (Harford, 65), Barlow, M. Pegg (Barnham).



Glenn's goodbye... Hoddle applauds the fans FRANK BARNON

Coventry City 0, Leeds United 0

Ogrizovic safeguards Sky Blues' status

Michael Walker
LIGHT the cigars, crack open the champagne and bring on the dancing girls: Big Ron is still in the big-time. But what an uncomfortable, sweaty afternoon he and the rest of Coventry had. And what a sour ending as rival sets of supporters fought ugly battles across the pitch and were dispersed only by the belated arrival of mounted police.
It was a sad end to a day that ensured Coventry stay in the top flight for the 30th consecutive season. That is some achievement for this club and with players like Jess, Whelan and Dublin, they ought not to be in this situation next May.
Yesterday need not have been so worrying. After seven minutes the home crowd shrieked as one of hearing of Liverpool's first goal at Maine Road and, when the second went in, there was a spontaneous chant of "Ian Rush, Ian Rush" at half-time, although Coventry were looking edgy, their survival chances seemed good. Then, as news of Manchester City's revival came through, the atmosphere changed and it was not until two minutes after the final whistle that Coventry knew they would still be in the Premiership in August.
Had Whelan converted one of the many opportunities that came his way, the party might have begun earlier and been a bit more relaxed. As it

was, Ogrizovic emerged as Coventry's most important figure the longer the game went on. He, though, was not near a shot on the turn by Radebe eight minutes from time and the relief when the ball hit the side-netting was immense.
There were several other moments when Coventry hearts stopped, the first coming before any news from Manchester. Masanga nutmegged Shaw and found himself one on one with Ogrizovic but the keeper saved the day and in doing so saved Coventry's season.
Coventry City: Ogrizovic, Pickering, Shaw, Dashi, Burrows, Hall, Taylor, Jones, Soligo, Dublin, Whelan.
Leeds: Williams, Luskic, Kelly, Palmer, Whelan, Redge, Worthington, Thacker, McManister, Wallace, Gray (Gouzen, 70), Nisic, Dugrye.
Referee: D. Elbery (Harrow).

They were back on their feet, however, even before Newsome headed home Whittingham's injury-time cross because a thousand radios had conveyed the news that Coventry's draw meant Wednesday were safe.
Whether a side that takes 15 points from their final 15 deserves to be another matter. Wednesday bristled with defensive uncertainty and, Blinker apart, lacked pace but the keeper saved the day and in doing so saved Coventry's season.
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Huddersfield 0, Portsmouth 1

Burton provides the buoyancy

David Hopps
A BEAUTIFUL spring afternoon at the McAlpine Stadium even stirred Portsmouth into life, and there have been few signs of that since the new year. Dean Burton's ninth-minute goal assured them of a commendable win and this, combined with Millwall's failure, saved their First Division status.
Only a few feeble fist-fights after Pompey fans invaded the pitch after the whistle soured the celebrations.
Burton had whirled his shirt above his head after thrashing in Carter's header from six yards; Huddersfield did nothing to suggest his response was premature.
Only the goalkeeping of Francis prevented Portsmouth from establishing an overwhelming half-time lead. He blocked McLoughlin's shot, saved excellently from Hall at the foot of a post and,

Watford 0, Leicester City 1

Leicester Mustafa chance

Mark Redding
LEICESTER have lived on the edge more than most in the previous 10 seasons. The manager, they left it until the last game of the season to scrape into the play-offs.
They were indebted yesterday to their on-loan Chelsea winger Mustafa for the vital goal on the hour that was enough to edge out Ipswich and leap-frog over Charlton. "I would have accepted any way to qualify that we had been offered in five minutes to three," said the Leicester manager Martin O'Neill.
The play-offs will hold no fears for Leicester, who entered the Premiership by way of the 1994 final when their captain Steve Walsh scored both goals in a 2-1 victory over Derby. Predictably City came straight back down last year and they still look ill equipped for the top flight.

Against a rampant Watford attack that had scored 20 goals in six games Leicester sensibly concentrated on keeping their defence in shape. The visitors rarely pushed men forward, with the result that in the first half the Watford goalkeeper Miller did not have a save to make.
Somewhat predictably then, when Leicester took the lead it came by way of a Watford mistake. Whitlow, escaping the door midfield wrestling match, crossed from the left and the Watford striker White, for reasons best known to himself, headed back across his own penalty area; it set ducked to score.
Leicester attacked more often but misses by Claridge, Robins and Heskey underlined a lack of real class.
Watford: Miller, Lutton, Parker, Page, Sneyd, Furness, Henshaw, White (77min), Parry, Mounty, White, Connolly (Borlough, 75).
Leicester: Gray, Pool, Grayson, White, White, Whitlow, 222, Lannon, Taylor, Heskey, Foster (Claridge, 65), Claridge.
Referee: J. Kinley (Mansfield).

Frank Keating on a bitter-sweet day at the Bridge of sighs

Pretty Chelsea poop Hoddle's farewell party

Frank Keating on a bitter-sweet day at the Bridge of sighs
GLENN HODDLE's Chelsea team, swamped above their station all week, predictably pooped the manager's farewell party at Stamford Bridge as Blackburn beat them by 3-2. Chelsea passed the ball prettily, but in the areas that mattered they lacked bite and palely tolerated.
The result, however, scarcely affected the determined knees-up for 28,000. Before kick-off, on the pitch Hoddle was presented with a cut-glass bowl on behalf of the club by his two secretaries, Jane and Judy. Ninety minutes later, in spite of defeat, the team's continuing conceit had them on an acclaimed lap of honour as overture to Hoddle's solo expedition to the centre-circle, in which he sheepishly saluted each corner. On the way off he even blew a kiss at the press box.
Not a cheep of "Judas" was heard (as when he left Swindon three years ago) and when not chanting valuations to the future England coach the throng chorused: "Hoo-jette! Hoo-jette!" — Cockney for the Dutchman, Gullit, as their favourite to take over as player-manager. That looks unlikely. Before the game he said of that combined role: "You are not one or the other, so it is not an effective job at all." Chelsea's board will have heard, however, the full-throated chants of "You can stick George Graham up your arse!"
Hoddle said afterwards: "It was disappointing to lose, but the atmosphere was tremendous. I was emotional. I had to do a job on myself today and I've kept better control than I thought I would. It was

more moving than my last game at Tottenham. The main thing is to get through next week here and tie up all the ends, then have a few words with the FA. After that, I must take a back step — it's only fair to Terry for me to be in the background, he does not want a side drama."
Chelsea held a board meeting before the match to discuss his replacement. No imminent announcement is expected. The chairman, Ken Bates, predictably used the programme notes to belittle about the FA's "unseemly performance". He wrote: "The FA were obviously getting desperate; there could be no other possible excuse for the way they have behaved towards Chelsea — the whole thing suggests some kind of panic. Why didn't they approach Chelsea last Monday, or indeed the previous week? It smacks of a yellow card and three disciplinary points for ungentlemanly conduct."
The match ended with the Chelsea captain Wise being booked for retaliation. At that time Blackburn, delighted with only their fourth away win of the season, had understood Arsenal to be losing. For 10 minutes they thought they were in Europe next season: about as long as they were this.
Blackburn raised their pace from a canter after Wise put Chelsea ahead after 35 minutes. At once, Sherwood headed in the splendidly direct Wilcox's centre from the left and before the hour was up McKelvey, with a cleverly taken header and Fenton with a volley, had effectively settled it. Spencer's late reply proved academic.
Blackburn: Harris, Minis, Gullit, Johnson, Spencer, Hughes, Wise, Burley (Fletcher), Smith, Joyce, Spenser (Peacock, 65), Lee.
Chelsea: Flowers, Coleman, Kemp, Sherwood, Hendry, Ripley, Gallacher (Warburton, 55), White, Fenton (Robson, 75), McKinlay, Burg.
Referee: M. Bodenham (East Loth).

First Division: Ipswich Town 0, Millwall 0

Lions fans vent their anger

Tom Evans
NEWS of Portsmouth's victory at Huddersfield, which meant relegation for Millwall, sparked off trouble in the stands at Portman Road where seats were trampled down on to the pitch. A gallant draw was not enough for the Lions. Nor was it enough for Ipswich, who missed a place in the play-off.
Millwall's decline has been spectacular. They topped the First Division table in September but finished the season third from bottom. Ipswich missed countless chances but they will look back on two incidents when they were close to grabbing victory.
In the 40th minute Millwall's American goalkeeper Kasey Keller dived to bolt a well-struck shot from Simon Milton. In the 87th Milton crossed for the 20-year-old substitute James Scowcroft to

beat Keller with a header only to see the ball rebound off the post.
In the frenetic closing stages both teams knew that nothing less than victory would do. Millwall showed great spirit but although they led Ipswich by seven corners to three, they lacked a striker with an eye for goal. Ipswich's promising young goalkeeper Richard Wright hardly had a shot to save.
There was a poignant moment in the 67th minute when the veteran Ipswich defender John Wark was substituted. He left the field to a massive ovation as he had announced his retirement as a player and the arrival of Tony Vaughan marked the end of a glorious era.
Ipswich: Thomas Wright, Stockwell, Tereloo, Townsend, Wark (Vaughan), Grant, Williams, Mason (Scowcroft, 29), Sedley, Maher, Marshall, Miles.
Millwall: Keller, Newman, Thatcher, Sorey, Van Bick, Adams, Connor, Savage (Hall, 71), Jarvis, Park (Wark, 84).
Referee: K. Lynch (Harrow).

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Burton had whirled his shirt above his head after thrashing in Carter's header from six yards; Huddersfield did nothing to suggest his response was premature.
Only the goalkeeping of Francis prevented Portsmouth from establishing an overwhelming half-time lead. He blocked McLoughlin's shot, saved excellently from Hall at the foot of a post and,

when he patted Thomson's header on to the bar, Allen's follow-up was ruled offside.
Huddersfield's mediocrity was alleviated by the self-destructive qualities of Thornley, whose loan from Manchester United had drawn to an end. Thornley is a talented winger but on this evidence he is also a silly boy.
His dismissal at Sunderland is regarded by many as the moment that ended Huddersfield's promotion chances. Yesterday he was booked in the 89th minute for rating at a linesman sent off in the 90th for his unimpeachable retaliatory tackle.
If Alex Ferguson intended that the experience would help Thornley grow up, yesterday brought at least one disappointment.
Huddersfield: Thomas Francis, Jenkins, Scotty, Gray, Cowan, Edwards, Mansel (Collins, 21min), Sutcliffe, Thornley, Johnson, Booth (Baldry, 71), Parkhouse (D. Kelly, 75), Thomson, Butters, Astord, Allen, McLoughlin, Simpson, Carter, Burton, Hall.
Referee: J. Rutton (Sheff-on-Trent).

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Motor Racing

Heavy-duty Hill scores clever win

Alan Henry at Imola sees Williams extend their unbeaten run

DAMON HILL won the San Marino Grand Prix in fine style here yesterday with a superbly disciplined drive that stood up to his disappointing result at the Nurburgring a week ago. His Williams took the chequered flag 16.4sec ahead of Michael Schumacher's Ferrari. Gerhard Berger's Benetton was third, with Eddie Irvine fourth in the second Ferrari.

It was Hill's fourth win out of five races this season and maintained Williams' unbeaten run this year. It also extended Hill's world championship lead over his teammate Jacques Villeneuve to 21 points, the Canadian having retired late on with suspension damage, probably the legacy of previous trouble.

Villeneuve's problems began early. His car was rained through by Jean Alesi's Benetton at the start, so hard that the European GP winner had to stop at the end of the opening lap to replace a deflated tyre.

The finishing order was not quite the Italian triumph anticipated by the 130,000 crowd but two Ferraris in the points was a good result by any standards. It could easily have been worse, for one of Schumacher's hard-pressed brakes exploded midway round the final lap and he just limped across the finishing line.

"We have some very talented people here at Williams. They did a brilliant job this weekend," said Hill, acknowledging that his victory owed as much to well-judged team tactics as to his own precision behind the wheel.

The plan yesterday was to give Hill's car a heavy fuel load from the start so that he could produce maximum performance when it counted, later in the race. He set back in third place, content to bide his time as David Coulthard's McLaren-Mercedes, fourth on the grid, set the early pace ahead of Schumacher, who

had qualified in pole position. Hill had to take it easy on the brakes at this stage but his refuelling stops on laps 30 and 50 of the 61-lap contest were relatively small, giving his car maximum agility to lap the back-markers.

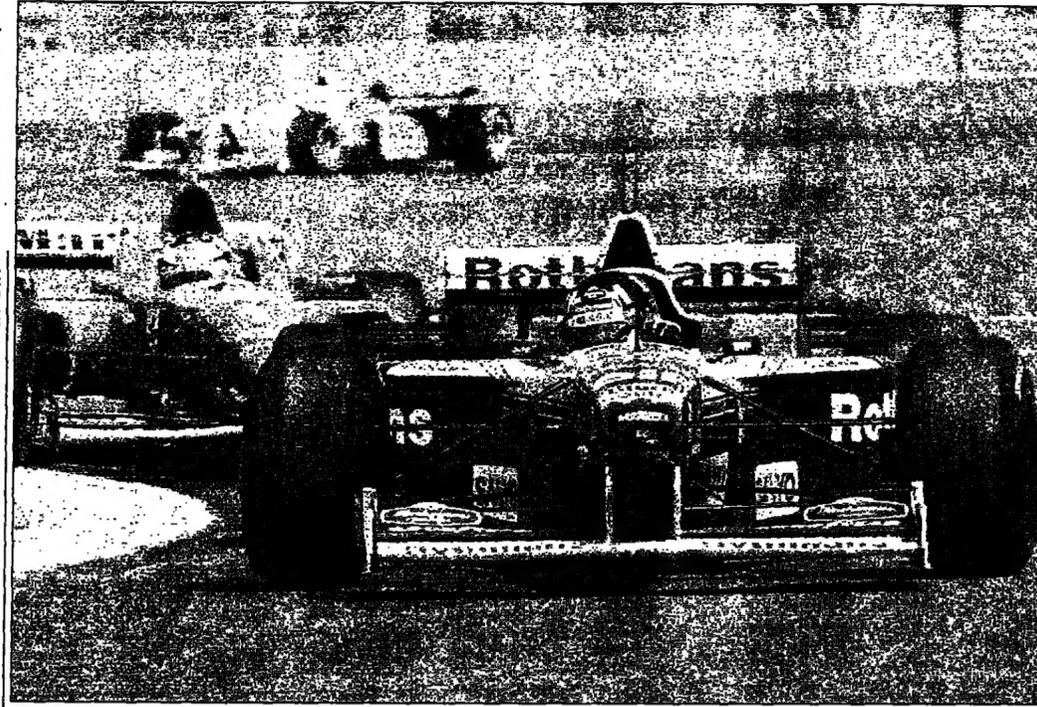
Schumacher's early strategy was slightly hampered by Coulthard, who for the second successive weekend made a brilliant start. The Scot led until his first refuelling stop, the end of lap 20, Schumacher took over the lead but Hill, by staying out of the pits until lap 30, was able to take a decisive advantage he never relinquished.

Coulthard held third place for several laps before stalling on his second refuelling stop and eventually pulling up with hydraulic problems on lap 45, but it was the first time a McLaren had led a world championship race since the 1994 Spanish GP, where Mika Hakkinen briefly set the pace in the Peugeot-engined car.

Third place for Berger was a welcome sequel to his ramp-up with Benetton's team chief Flavio Briatore, but his team-mate Alesi, who had also criticised their cars, had a nightmare race. After barging into Villeneuve's Williams lap two, he spun while attempting to pass Olivier Panis's Ligier and incurred a stop-go penalty for speeding in the pit lane at his first refuelling stop.

All in all, it was a result which must have made Benetton nostalgic for the days when Schumacher was driving for them. The reigning champion, meanwhile, will be contemplating his third consecutive win at Monaco in a fortnight's time, when Ferrari will race the qualifying specification engine he used to gain pole position here. Few doubt that it will be a race to pose Hill his biggest challenge of the season so far.

A British mechanic, Dave Lowe, escaped with a dislocated shoulder when Joe Verstappen's Arrows car was prematurely waved out of the pits while Lowe was refuelling it. The hose whipped round and ripped apart, depositing fuel around the pit lane. Lowe was hurled to the ground and run over by one of the car's rear wheels.



Four out of five... Hill leaves Schumacher in his slipstream at Imola and widens his lead in the Formula One championship

Pointed answer to Ferrari blessing

Richard Williams on the proven mettle and complications of Britain's top driver

THE LOCAL voodoo is running at full throttle. In the Piazza Matteotti stood the very first Ferrari, the graceful 815 sports model raced by Alberto Ascari in the 1940 Mille Miglia. Its maroon coachwork and silver wire wheels glinting proudly in the sunshine.

On Saturday afternoon the amazing thing is that he should feel the need. In terms of sheer statistics he is already up there with the very greatest British racing drivers. Hill has won 17 of his 56 grands prix, compared with Mansell's 31 of 89, Stewart's 27 of 89, Clark's 25 of 72 and Moss's 16 of 66. And to anyone who says, "well, isn't that because he's in the best car,"

it should be pointed out that the instinct for getting yourself into the right team is as much a part of being a champion driver as the ability to drive at the limit for an hour and a half.

Hill has his limitations but he has learned to operate within them. He has also had his good luck but he has worked for it. This season's wins are the reward for diligence, patience and planning, to which his contribution has been vital.

It's good to get things back on track here after yesterday's race, referring to the mistakes which had relegated him to fourth place at the Nurburgring the previous Sunday, a result for which he was criticised in terms suggesting that he had betrayed the nation.

Curiously, for a man who can lap somewhere like Imola at an average speed of 125 miles an hour without turning a hair, this is one phenomenon that he is not built to withstand. Hence the resentment that continues to colour his behaviour in times of stress.

On Saturday we saw both sides of his ability to respond to media pressure. First, cornered in the paddock after the morning practice session, he was asked if he was looking for revenge (over Schumacher, presumably). It was a question designed to generate a tabloid headline. "Only against you," he told his interrogator, amid laughter, including his own. But at the formal press conference later he was invited to describe his response to the criticisms that followed his defeat in Germany.

Hill may not take his victories flamboyantly but he is taking enough of them to make us take him seriously. "But I did have a good fish

and chip supper on Monday night and I saw some of them then." There was no answering warmth. Even after four wins, or five of the last six counting Adelaide at the fall end of 1995, he is not entirely at ease with his success. But this does not make him a bad racing driver, or a bad man. In fact his very vulnerability should be seen as an asset in these days of media-trained performers with a perfect answer for everything.

Yesterday, faced by 130,000 paying customers desperate for his rival to succeed, Hill proved his mettle once again. In such circumstances all an Englishman can do is trust in his gut and professionalism. Hill may not take his victories flamboyantly but he is taking enough of them to make us take him seriously.

Weekend results

Soccer

FA CUP

Table of FA Cup results including Arsenal vs Bolton, Tottenham vs Ipswich, and others.

League

Table of Premier League results including Arsenal vs Tottenham, Liverpool vs Manchester United, and others.

Football

Table of international football results including England vs Scotland, and others.

Baseball

Table of baseball results including Yankees vs Red Sox, and others.

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Snooker

Hendry off to a slow start

Clive Everton in Sheffield

PETER EBDON exploited a subdued and error-prone performance by Stephen Hendry to lead 4-3 after the first session of his best-of-36 frames final of the Snooker World Championship at the Crucible Theatre here yesterday.

Until an 83 in the last frame of the afternoon the defending champion's highest break was a modest 38. Ebdon played solidly, making breaks of 79 and 80, but had cause to reflect that he should have been more than one frame ahead at the interval.

Hendry's out-of-touch display was curious; he had started the fresher of the two breakers, but was not entirely at ease with his success. But this does not make him a bad racing driver, or a bad man. In fact his very vulnerability should be seen as an asset in these days of media-trained performers with a perfect answer for everything.

Yesterday, faced by 130,000 paying customers desperate for his rival to succeed, Hill proved his mettle once again. In such circumstances all an Englishman can do is trust in his gut and professionalism. Hill may not take his victories flamboyantly but he is taking enough of them to make us take him seriously.

He has added a private apology to the public one he made to Michael Van Gerwen, the WPBSA assistant press officer he assaulted a week ago. "I was pleased to make it up with Mike," he said. "I wasn't happy with my foul."

His \$30,000 penalty — a \$20,000 fine plus a \$10,000 "voluntary donation to charity" will be adequately covered by his \$60,000 prize-money as losing semi-finalist.

Basketball

Hatters show true worth

Robert Pryce

THE Sheffield Hatters completed their sweep of the major prizes in the English women's game at Wembley yesterday when they beat the Birmingham Quality Cats 73-62 in the National League play-off final. They have won all 33 of their games this season but still will not merit a mention among the BBC's "most valuable players" of the season.

The Hatters have won 16 titles, including six successive league and cup doubles, since 1990 but they have not earned much respect, even within the basketball community. Yesterday two small groups of fans did their best to enliven a three-quarters empty arena.

Cori-Lyn Blakeborough, the Canadian guard who won the Most Valuable Player award yesterday, was heralded as the best returning to the German League, observed: "In Germany they put a lot more money into women's sport."

Sheffield could not even afford to enter European competition this season and have little hope of finding the funds next season. "I keep advertising for a millionaire," said their coach Betty Codona.

Birmingham gave them a run for their money yesterday. The Cats kept the 68-28 England captain, Chry Castle, (18 points, 16 rebounds) comparatively quiet with a zone defence while at the other end Fiona Murray dragged her out of the key to allow Wendy Burrows to score 22 points.

Blakeborough (25 pts) and Codona's daughter Vanessa Ellis (17) riddled the Cats' zone and the game slipped out of reach.

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